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RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE following short Catechism, the work of that venerable and eminently pious prelate archbishop Leighton, deserves to be universally known. I have extracted it from the fourth volume of his works, lately published by Ogle; and I submit to your consideration whether the room which it would occupy in your miscellany could be more advantageously employed than in giving currency to this excellent summary of Christian doctrine and Christian duty.

You will, I trust, permit me to make one remark which forcibly struck my own mind on reading this Catechism. Its author unquestionably designed that it should be a compendium of all those great truths deducible from Scripture, the belief and practice of which are necessary to the formation of the Christian character; in other words, to the salvation of the soul. But how little do we find in it, which has been the subject of controversy among pious men in any age? How little do we find in it, to which any man of piety would now object? And yet have we not here a just and comprehensive statement of *evangelical* religion? If so, why will not good men agree to meet each other on such a common basis as this; and, leaving their endless debates, unite their labours in promoting the great objects of Christianity—love, purity, and peace?

S.

"A SHORT CATECHISM.

"What is naturally every man's chief desire?

To be happy.

Which is the way to true happiness?

True religion.

What is true religion?

The true and lively knowledge of the only true God, and of him whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ.

Whence is this knowledge to be learned?

All the works of God declare his being, and his glory; but the clearer knowledge of himself, and his Son Jesus Christ, is to be learned from his own word, contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

What do those Scriptures teach us concerning God?

That he is one infinite, eternal Spirit, most wise, and holy, and just, and merciful, and the all-powerful Maker and Ruler of the world.

What do they further teach us concerning him?

That he is Three in One, and One in Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

What will that lively knowledge of God effectually work in us?

It will cause us to believe in him, and to love him above all things, even above ourselves, to adore and worship him, to pray to him, and to praise him and exalt him with all our might, and to yield up ourselves to the obedience of all his commandments, as having both made us, and made himself known to us for that very end.

Rehearse then the articles of our belief.

I believe in God the Father, &c.

Rehearse the Ten Commandments of the law, which are the rule of our obedience, and so the trial of our love.

God spake these words, I am the Lord thy God, &c.

What is the summary our Saviour hath given us of this law?

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself.

What is the effectual means of obtaining increase of faith and power to obey, and generally all graces and blessings at the hand of God?

Prayer.

Rehearse that most excellent and perfect prayer that our Saviour hath taught us.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

In what estate was man created?

After the image of God in holiness and righteousness.

Did he continue in that estate?

No. But by breaking the commandment which his Maker gave him, eating of the fruit of that tree which was forbidden him, he made himself and his whole posterity subject to sin and death.

Hath God left man in this misery, without all means and hopes of recovery?

No. For he so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

What is then the great doctrine of the Gospel?

That same coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and giving himself to the death of the cross to take away the sin of the world, and his rising again from the dead, and ascending into glory.

What doth that Gospel mainly teach and really persuade all the followers of it to do?

It teacheth them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world.

How hath our Lord Jesus himself expressed the great and necessary duty of all his disciples?

That they deny themselves, and take up their cross and follow him.

Rehearse then some of the chief points wherein we are to follow our Lord Jesus Christ?

1. To surrender ourselves wholly to our heavenly Father, and his good pleasure in all things, even in the sharpest afflictions and sufferings; and not at all to do our own will, or design our own praise or advantage, but in all things to do his will and intend his glory.

2. To be spotless, and chaste, and holy, in our whole conversation.

3. Add a third. To be meek and lowly, not to slander or reproach, to mock or despise any; and if any do so to us, to bear it patiently, yea to rejoice in it.

4. A fourth. Unfeignedly to love our Christian brethren, and to be charitably and kindly affected toward all men, even to our enemies, forgiving them, yea and praying for them, and returning them good for evil; to comfort the afflicted, and relieve the poor, and to do good for all as we are able.

Is it necessary that all Christians live according to these rules?

So absolutely necessary, that they that do not so in some good measure, whatsoever they profess, do not really believe in Jesus Christ, nor have any portion in him.

What visible seals hath our Saviour annexed to that Gospel, to confirm our faith, and to convey the grace of it to us?

The two sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

What doth baptism signify and seal?

Our washing from sin, and our new birth in Jesus Christ.

What doth the Lord's Supper signify and seal?

Our spiritual nourishment and growth in him, and transforming us

more and more into his likeness, by commemorating his death, and feeding on his body and blood, under the figures of bread and wine.

What is required to make fit and worthy communicants of the Lord's Supper?

Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance towards God, and charity towards all men.

What is faith in our Lord Jesus?

It is the grace by which we both believe his whole doctrine, and trust in him as the Redeemer and Saviour of the world, and entirely deliver up ourselves to him, to be taught and saved and ruled by him, as our prophet, priest, and king.

What is repentance?

It is a godly sorrow for sin, and a hearty and real turning from all sin unto God.

What is the final portion of unbelieving and unrepentant sinners?

The everlasting torments of devils.

What is the final portion of them that truly repent and believe, and obey the Gospel?

The blessed life of angels, in the vision of God for ever.

A question for young persons before their first admission to the Lord's Supper.

Whereas you were in your infancy baptised into the name of Jesus Christ, do you now upon distinct knowledge, and with firm belief and pious affection, own that Christian faith of which you have given an account, and withal your baptismal vow of renouncing the service of Satan, and the world, and the lusts of the flesh, and of devoting yourself to God in all holiness of life?

I do sincerely and heartily declare my belief of that faith, and own my engagement to that holy vow, and resolve, by the assistance of God's grace, to continue in the careful observance of it all my days."

Leighton's Works,
Vol. iv. p. 198.

For the Christian Observer.

ON THE NATURE AND EFFECTS OF THE CHRISTIAN HOPE.

NEXT to the enjoyment of Heaven itself, nothing can be more desirable than a well-founded hope of that blessedness. This hope, which it is the manifest design of the Gospel to communicate to man, when sufficiently strong, will so gild the scenes of this fading and transitory world, as to give it a resemblance of the state of felicity above.

In contemplating any subject connected with the Gospel, it is impossible not to be struck with the very evident design displayed in every part of it to exalt, ennoble, and bless the children of men. We every where behold such marks of benignity and love as convey an irrefragable proof, that it has proceeded from Him whose goodness, like his other attributes, is infinite and incomprehensible. While the Gospel every where represents the state of man as poor and wretched, it every where points out, at the same time, an adequate remedy for all his evils, and every where opens to him such bright prospects of everlasting glory as could only be derived from an intimate view of those blessed scenes where universal love prevails, and where the boundless power of the Almighty is employed in diffusing consummate bliss. It there appears plainly to be the will of God, that the sinful children of men, though unworthy of the least of his mercies, should, upon their faithful reception of the Gospel, be entitled not only to the enjoyment of heaven hereafter, but to the reviving hope and expectation of it here; that they should live, as it were, in the constant view of it, enjoying a foretaste of it in their souls, and looking for and hasting unto the coming of their Lord. It is, indeed, to be lamented, that few enjoy this delightful hope; for though there are not many persons who do not entertain a hope that they shall be saved at last, yet their

hope is little more than the mere desire to be delivered from a great evil. It is a hope founded on their wishes rather than on any declaration of the word of God. It is a hope which, instead of being countenanced by Scripture, stands in contradiction to its general tenor. It is a hope which affords no animating and delightful prospects, which is never the object of interesting contemplation, which neither arms the soul against the fear of death, nor consoles it in the hour of affliction. In fine, it is a hope which does not purify the soul; whereas he who possesses true Christian hope, "purifieth himself, even as Christ is pure."

Several reasons might be assigned why the glorious prospect of immortality, which the Gospel sets before us, makes so faint an impression on the minds of men; but they may be reduced to two: either that men are too little interested about religion to attend to it at all with sufficient seriousness, or that they entertain some unhappy mistake respecting its real nature. The first is by far the most prevalent. Men are occupied by the cares and business of the world, or they are enslaved by sensual pleasure. They have no leisure nor inclination for any pursuits that are holy and spiritual. They possess no ideas of happiness beyond what is to be enjoyed in the gratification of their sensual appetites and corrupt desires. All their hopes and expectations, therefore, are riveted down to the earth. The joys of heaven, on the other hand, are of a pure and spiritual kind, arising from religious views and feelings, from prayer, and praise, and holy love to God, and ready obedience to his will. But in religious exercises such men can taste no pleasure. On the contrary, they find them irksome. Hence it is impossible that they should look forward with delightful anticipation to a kind of life which is now intolerable to them. Religion requires a state of mind incompatible with their present pleasures. How then can they look forward with joyful expectation to such a state as the Gospel represents heaven to be? Were it a Mahomedan paradise, it would be much more an object of delight to them.

But even in cases where some degree of interest is felt about religion, an unhappy mistake with respect to its true nature often prevents the enjoyment of the Christian hope, especially where the grace of the Gospel is not well understood. Religion may be considered merely as a scheme of moral discipline, a system of restraints and punishments, and our heavenly Father only as a judge; while the office and death of the Redeemer are overlooked and neglected. In this case no sure and certain hope of a blessed immortality will cheer and invigorate the soul. For Christ is the sun of righteousness, whose beams dispel the mists of doubt and uncertainty; and illuminating the soul, impart to it at once the desire of heaven and the anticipation of its blessedness. He is the resurrection and the life. He is the hope of glory. In his light we see light. It is only the clear and stedfast view of the unspeakable mercy and grace of God revealed in the Gospel of his Son, that mercy which can cancel so freely innumerable offences through his blood, and which can bestow on the most unworthy infinite blessings for his sake; it is only such a view which can communicate peace and joy in believing. The Gospel must be welcomed as glad tidings of great joy, as a marvellous display of mercy to ourselves, ere it can impart to us a hope full of immortality. But how many persons, even in some degree religious, possess no such conception of the nature and object of religion.

In contradistinction to the empty and vain hope with which so many delude themselves, let us consider the nature of that well-founded and joyful hope of the glory of God, which the Scriptures represent as

the portion of the true believer in Christ Jesus. Believers are there represented as placing an unshaken confidence in God, in the security of his promises, and in the extent of his mercy. "Because thou hast been my help, therefore in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice." "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee." "Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory." "My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever." "I have trusted in thy mercy; my heart shall rejoice in thy salvation." "As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied, when I awake after thy likeness." Such was the language of the holy members of the church, ere yet the Sun of Righteousness had arisen on the world. After his appearance, the objects of hope were more distinct and luminous, and confidence in God more strong and abiding. The Lord of the church himself had encouraged in his disciples a joyful hope of eternal life; and agreeably to his declarations and promises, they are represented as waiting for the adoption, the redemption of the body; as looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God; as looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; as looking for the mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life; as filled by the God of hope with all joy and peace in believing, that they might abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost. Hence they triumph with a holy confidence in the expectation of the glory ready to be revealed. "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Therefore we are always confident; knowing that whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord. We are confident, and willing rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord." "For we know whom we have believed, and that he is able to keep that which we have committed to him till that day." "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Such is the strain of holy triumph with which the disciples of Christ contemplated the prospects which opened to them in another life. Thus they stretched forward with desire, and hasted unto the coming of their Lord. Nor were these empty words: they cheerfully suffered the loss of all things here, knowing that they had a more enduring inheritance. They willingly exposed themselves to pain and affliction, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake; and they gladly embraced death itself, in the assured expectation of entering at once into eternal life.

If we examine this happy disposition more in detail, we shall find it to consist in *a firm belief of the life to come, a delightful contemplation of its glory,* and *a confident expectation of its enjoyment.*

1. There is an assent to what the Scriptures have declared concerning the world to come which is attended with no deep impression on the heart. A man believes that this life is as a shadow that departeth, and that there is another eternal world, altogether glorious, just before him, in which the blessed person who is permitted to enter will dwell for millions of ages: and yet he is as anxious about this life, and as indifferent about that which is to come, as if he had believed the very reverse,—that this life was eternal, and that which is to come a mere shadow. Shall it be said that such a person has a true belief in the world to come? "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the

evidence of things not seen;" that is, it gives a subsistence in the mind to things hoped for, and it makes things invisible evident to our sight. It opens, as it were, the door of the blessed regions above, and admits us to a view of the order, the harmony, the happiness, which prevail among the spirits of the just made perfect; it introduces us to the presence of the great Mediator of the new covenant; it enables us to contemplate with holy joy the wisdom, power, and goodness of our heavenly Father, exerted in rendering his creatures perfectly happy: and thus realizing heaven to our view, this world appears poor and mean in the comparison; its honours fade, its pleasures wither, its pomp disappears, its sufferings sink into insignificance; they seem but for a moment; and the soul is absorbed in the thought of that eternal weight of glory to which it looks forward.

2. The Christian hope further implies *a delightful contemplation* of the life to come. Many persons speak and think of heaven in a cold uninterested manner, without any glow of affection, any grateful emotion towards Him who formed it for man, or any vivid impression of its glory and felicity. The Christian, on the contrary, is described as *rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.* This implies that he makes it the subject of frequent and delightful meditation. It is called, by way of eminence, *the glory of God;* because there the glory of God, which shines through the whole universe, is collected, as light is in the sun. His *wisdom* is there manifested, without a cloud to obscure it, or any defect in the view of those blessed inhabitants who are assembled to behold it. His *power* is seen, in removing every evil, in creating every good, in enlarging the capacity of his creatures to enjoy perfect happiness, and in uniting them to each other, so that there shall be no possibility of jarring or discord. His *goodness* is displayed pouring out mercies in rich profusion. In a word, there all the attributes of the Deity shine forth with resplendent lustre, and give a denomination to the place from this full display of the divine perfections,—*the glory of God.* He who enjoys the hope of this glory, will often be transported in thought to these happy regions, there to walk with God, and to imbibe somewhat of the spirit and temper of that blessed place; one glimpse of which can afford more real delight to the soul than all the pleasures of this transitory life, even were they all enjoyed at once.

3. The Christian hope, it has been remarked, likewise implies, a *confident expectation of its enjoyment.* What would all the glories of heaven signify to any one, unless he could look forward to them as his reversionary inheritance? A clear view of the glory of heaven would only tend to depress the spirits of those who could not entertain a well-founded hope of admission there. But it is one of the peculiar excellencies of the Gospel, that it fully assures to those who truly receive it, an entrance into that blessed place, through the infinite mercies of their Saviour. They know in whom they have believed; they well understand his character; they entertain no doubt of the fulfilment of all his promises, and are confident that he is equally able and willing to pardon their sins, to sanctify their souls, and to exalt them to his heavenly kingdom.

To those who complain, that they are strangers to the joyful hope which has been described, and sincerely deplore the want of it, I would remark, that if they would really enjoy this blessing, their hearts must be wholly devoted to God. A heart divided between God and mammon, a worldly spirit, will remain for ever destitute of it. God must be chosen as the portion of the soul. The world must be relinquished, and no expectation formed of happiness from it; for worldly-mindedness is wholly incompatible with that spiritual frame which the hope of glory re-

quires. Whoever, therefore, desires to obtain this hope, must give himself up to the divine guidance; he must pray earnestly to God; he must study his word diligently, and follow implicitly its directions. Hitherto other things have been the objects of his pursuit; now *the one thing needful* must occupy his attention.

But let it not be forgotten, that this hope, in order to to be obtained, must be sought in the way which God has appointed, that is, by faith in Jesus Christ. It is those who are *justified by faith* who alone are enabled to *rejoice in hope of the glory of God.* The Gospel of the grace of God reveals to us our heavenly Father as full of mercy to all who believe in his Son. There we see the divine justice satisfied for the sins of the whole world by the oblation of Christ on the cross. There we learn the full security of all who trust in his promises, and who flee for refuge to the hope which he sets before them. There, in short, we find nothing omitted which is necessary to strengthen the hope of the Christian, or encourage his confidence in God. Such, then, is the care which our heavenly Father has taken to remove all doubt and anxiety from the minds of his real disciples. Nothing, indeed, can be more clear than his will on this point. He leaves no room for doubt or hesitation in the case of those who are sincerely and unreservedly devoted to his service. "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

But notwithstanding the rich and full provision of peace, and hope, and joy, which God has made for man in the dispensation of the Gospel, let it not be imagined that the Holy Spirit will seal these blessings to the careless, the worldly, or the unfaithful professors of his religion. No: he who values the hope of glory will walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called. "He that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself, even as He is pure." This is the guard which is intended to prevent a presumptuous abuse of this doctrine. If any one enjoy a hope of glory while his tempers are unsanctified, and while he lives under the dominion of any sin, let him know that his hope is presumption. There will necessarily be a beautiful correspondence and harmony in every part of the conduct and temper of those whose hearts are right with God. In such minds the hope of heaven will be closely and inseparably connected with that purity of soul, and that love to God, which will keep them at a distance from all sin.

But, to bring this long paper to a close, let me ask, Why there are in the world so many complaints of sorrow and wretchedness? Is it because there is no remedy for these evils; or is it not rather because men will not cease to look to the world, rather than to God, for happiness? I trust that some at least of my readers will believe me when I assure them, that one faithful prayer will do more to calm the mind, than the fond indulgence of the highest earthly expectations. Let them then begin to fix their hopes on God only; and let the good they pant after be of a pure and spiritual kind, worthy of an immortal soul to seek, and of the infinite God to bestow.

Were the blessed hope of heavenly glory more frequently the object of our serious pursuit, and of our fervent prayers to God; and did the prospect of eternal felicity dawn on our souls, how light would all our trials and sufferings appear! Could we confidently look up to God as our Father, and to heaven as our home; could we rejoice in the hope of a heavenly inheritance, what a defence

would it be to us against the fear of poverty or pain—indeed against all the evils of life! Above all, what an unspeakably valuable consolation would it prove to us in that solemn hour when we must bid adieu to life and all its joys! To shew its value, let us only contemplate the condition of one who enjoying no such hope is summoned to appear before his God:—instead of cheering anticipations of the glory ready to be revealed, he is tormented with bitter reflections and dreadful forebodings, without one ray of light from heaven to enlighten his dreary passage to eternity. If there should be any whose consciences, on reading this paper, testify that this would be their state, were they now called to judgment, let me beseech them, by the mercies of God, by the redemption of Jesus Christ, by the regard they feel for their own salvation, to pause and reflect on their condition, and to lose no time in applying to God for mercy. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest."

N. D.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I FEEL myself obliged by the very able, elaborate, and candid review of a late publication of mine, which has appeared in your Magazine; and, indeed, am gratified in perceiving that the disclosure of my sentiments has been the means of exciting an inquiry of the highest importance to religion in the present state of society. There is no doubt but our opinions differ a good deal in some particulars; but I trust we are equally actuated by a desire to advance the true interests of religion and virtue: and with these objects in view, I wish to trouble you with a few strictures upon certain passages of your critique. I know it would be an endless task, if the editors of periodical publications were, generally, to admit remarks and replies to their criticisms on different works. And the only reason why I can expect that you will grant me an indulgence which is denied to others, is, that it seems to have been your professed intention to promote a discussion of the same subjects, and that you "had invited your friends to offer their thoughts upon" them, and "were willing to allow a considerable freedom in the debate*." At present I shall transmit to you a few remarks on certain passages in the first portion of your review, with the design of exemplifying the principle of conciliation, the promotion of which was a professed object of my sermon, as enforced by the text.

Having animadverted with a good deal of freedom, and even asperity, on certain professional deficiencies in several of the clergy of the established church, it surely was no more than an act of common justice, independently of conciliation, to bear my testimony to the merits of a large proportion of the same body. Neither am I conscious of that "discrepancy," with which you charge me, between the "somewhat unmeasured compliment," as you term it, in the close of my sermon, and the sentiments which you have quoted from other parts of it. What is said, in truth, of so numerous a body as the national clergy, may confessedly admit of a great many very lamentable exceptions. You should remark also, that my mode of expression is somewhat indefinite: and yet I do think, that "invincible integrity," in such a limited sense of the expression in which only it can be applied to any class of mortals, is a part of the character of a large proportion of the clergy. I am likewise of opinion, that a majority of that body is influenced by much disinterested benevolence; though I readily allow, that their benevolence is not sufficiently diffu-

* Christian Observer, Jan. 1808, p. 37.

sive. But, in fact, I only intimated that our minds were not duly prepared by our accustomed education for a life of diffusive benevolence. I verily believe also, that the greater portion of the clergy are possessed of a large share of solid and liberal information; though, in a considerable majority of them, there may be a sad deficiency of strictly professional knowledge and acquirements, more especially in the younger part. And I am still persuaded of the established clergy, that if "their energies" were "properly called forth, judiciously distributed, and efficaciously supported," encouraged by a prospect of greater success from more effectual co-operation, they would become much more prompt and active in the discharge of their professional engagements, and their benevolence would be rendered much more diffusive. The same distinctive features of character and qualifications are adverted to in other parts of the pamphlet. And I wish them to be particularly noticed in the present times, when it is a source of no small uneasiness to the truly pious, to remark the number of clergymen, of real and distinguished worth, that are slighted and despised, who, probably, are deficient only in some popular attainments; while an ignorant person, with hardly one amiable quality, literally, by noise and nonsense, in some methodistical conventicle, is gratified by his success in alienating the affections of the parishioners from a most worthy conscientious minister. And the inference to be drawn is this;—that every care should be taken to remedy those defects, by which the utility of many valuable characters is much impaired; and that in the education of the clergy much more attention should be directed to popular qualifications, as far as they are liberal and ingenuous, as well as strictly professional attainments.

I shall next exemplify the principle of conciliation in some remarks on your critique upon my sentiments in regard to subscribing the Articles of the Church of England; "there being no part of my work with which you are less pleased." Without stating exactly how far I agree with or differ from Paley, I still maintain, that a latitude of construction is allowable in a subscription, which is perfectly inadmissible in an oath. Nor can I regard it as a very nice distinction, as you and the Monthly Reviewers appear to do. It is morally impossible, that a long chain of rules and regulations should be equally proper for the government of any body of men for centuries together, under all the varying circumstances of society; especially when the changes of sentiment and conduct have been so considerable, as have occurred in most of the kingdoms of Europe, and particularly in the British dominions. And I readily enter my protest against the custom of exacting oaths of obedience to rules that are no longer considered as practicable, or virtually binding. But whether the individual, under all circumstances, is justified in taking such an oath, especially with the indulgence of an authorised salvo, is a different consideration. I must only observe, that such authorised prevarication does irreparable injury to the moral feelings. And yet every graduate, and by far the greater number of undergraduates, of our universities have taken one or more such oaths*.

* The oath required at matriculation, in the university of Cambridge, is as follows:

"Cancellario, Procancellarioque Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, quatenus jus fasque est, et pro ordine in quo fuerim, quamdiu in hâc republicâ degam, comiter obtemperabo; leges, statuta, mores approbatos, et privilegia Cantabrigiensis Academiæ, quantum in me est, observabo; pietatis et bonarum literarum progressum et hujus Academiæ statum, honorem, dignitatem tuebor, quoad vivam, meoque suffragio atque consilio rogatus et non rogatus defendam: ita me Deus adjuvet et sancta Dei evangelia."

To which is subjoined the following convenient salvo:

"Senatus Cantabrigiensis decrevit et de-

If being *ipso facto* a member of the university is not a sufficient acknowledgment of consent and obligation to be governed by its laws, I consider a subscription as much preferable to an oath of obedience. For all distinctive meaning and precision of language is annihilated, if *subscribe* and *believe* are to be regarded as perfectly synominous. But you will observe perhaps, and seem to intimate the same in a note, that what invariably fixes the meaning of the subscription to the articles of the Church of England is, that one of the three articles subscribed presignifies, that "he (the subscriber) acknowledgeth all and every the articles, being in number nine and thirty, to be agreeable to the word of God." I answer; Not absolutely so, especially when the implied consent of the imposer authorises a less rigid mode of interpretation*. And it can hardly be denied, but our ancestors must have had some good reason for requiring subscription to the articles, rather than a solemn affirmation of belief in every proposition therein contained. And what could that be, but to diminish somewhat of the strength and universality of an oath. The terms "assent and consent," used on other occasions, do also, in my apprehension, according to the common acceptation of those words, imply something short of a full conviction of the truth of every subordinate proposition, and, I am persuaded, were adopted for the same reasons. You allow, that "in the articles themselves, there is enough to shew, that it was the intention of those, who framed them, to give to the church a character of comprehensiveness and moderation." And what do you understand by that "comprehensiveness?" Is it, that the subscriber, by a forced construction, may "put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the articles*," or indeed put any sense upon them, "which the terms employed will *fairly* and *honestly* admit†?" This liberty is positively disallowed by the declaration prefixed to the articles, which requires, that they should be taken only "in the literal and grammatical sense." Nor do I, indeed, contend for any greater latitude than such as, according to the language of the declaration, to prevent "unnecessary disputations, altercations, or questions, which may nourish faction both in the church and commonwealth;" and only wish, that in regard to those "curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years exercised the church of Christ, all farther curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the articles of the Church of England;" except only as such subjects may be temperately discussed by literary men, in such a way as not at all to endanger the peace of the church or commonwealth. It concerns me but little, what opinions individuals may form on certain subjects, on which probably we shall never attain to an adequate comprehension in this imperfect state of existence, provided only they will not disturb the peace of the church with their hasty and presumptuous conceits, nor endeavour to make the people a party in controversies which are far removed beyond the limits of their intelligence and information. In short,

claravit eos omnes, qui monitionibus, correctionibus, mulctis et pœnis statutorum, legum, decretorum, ordinationum, injunctionum, et laudabilium consuetudinum hujus Academiæ transgressoribus quovis modo incumbentibus humiliter se submiserint, nec esse, nec habendos esse perjurii reos."

* The subscriber may indeed acknowledge, that all and every the articles are agreeable or conformable to the word of God, and may be defended thereby, though he may doubt whether in some instances they convey the precise meaning of the several texts to which they appear to refer.

* Declaration prefixed to the articles.

† Christian Observer. for Jan. p. 45.

my sole, or chief, motive in defending a latitude of subscription is, to remove needless sources of altercation and disunion, and to soften the asperity of such as may continue to exist, that we may co-operate in promoting "the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."

If, then, any latitude of subscription is allowable, we should endeavour to attach such a meaning to the subsription required to the articles of the Church of England, as, in the present state of society, would be most conducive to the general interests of religion. Those who approve of a religious establishment, and especially of ours, and who lament, as we appear to do, the very extensive and increasing defection from the national church, would doubtless rejoice to enumerate amongst its ministers as large a proportion as possible of truly religious and zealous professors, notwithstanding even a considerable share of diversity of sentiment, if it is of such a nature as not materially to prevent an effective co-operation in the promotion of righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. You and I may possibly differ in our opinions, as to what those doctrines are, which are almost of as little real value in relation to righteousness, peace, and joy, as some ancient scruples about meats and drinks: but, certainly there are many doctrinal points, which have acquired more importance than is essentially attached to them, by the ferment they have occasioned in society, and by being in fact united with opinions of the most injurious tendency. The spirit of the times, however, is a good deal altered. It is now chiefly among the lower and less informed classes, that a certain pertinacity of opinion is encouraged, and that for the very purpose of alienating their minds from the ministers of the national religion. I have before remarked, that "when one species of salutary attachment, as that between a parishioner and his minister, is infringed, the violation of any other is facilitated." Independently of the natural tendency of particular doctrines, and the efforts of interested individuals, a dissolution of an attachment to the establishment must tend to weaken the attachment to the government by which it is supported. The stronger and more numerous the links by which the different orders of society are connected, the more complete and indissoluble must be the harmony that prevails; and the greater number of truly conscientious Christians that are intimately united by these powerful ties, the larger portion of good will be effected, when, in lieu of impairing each other's success by endless competitions, they are strictly co-operating in opposing the progress of licentiousness. And surely there never was a time when it was more necessary to strengthen the bonds by which the different orders of society are connected, and to resist and counteract the increasing licentiousness, not only of general manners, but also of religious sentiment and conduct. But by a rigid interpretation of the act of subscription, what do you do? You multiply the causes of separation and dissension, and exclude from the church many individuals of tender conscience and real piety, that will not positively affirm a proposition, though of very trivial import, which they do not strictly believe in the common acceptation of the terms in which it is conveyed.

If, as appears to be your opinion, we are to regard subscription as a solemn declaration of a persuasion of the truth of the several articles subscribed, it then evidently follows, that no person can conscientiously subscribe the articles, unless he absolutely believes every individual proposition either expressly recited or indirectly comprised in them. It is to no purpose for the subscriber to say, that he believes a proposition, because he knows nothing to the contrary, having never had an op-

portunity, or perhaps the ability and information, to undertake a thorough investigation of the subject. Just as a parish officer, who is required to take, I could almost say, a false oath, which is read to him by a justice's clerk with all the hurry and levity with which he would run over the tedious and superfluous tautology of a legal instrument, repeats secretly to himself, "to the best of my knowledge," or "*for what I know to the contrary*," and thinks he has effectually removed the guilt of perjury, though he has not performed, or never intends performing, several of the engagements he takes upon himself, and knows nothing of many of the facts comprised in the terms of the oath*. And shall a candidate for holy orders contract for his admission into the church by any such miserable prevarication?

No person can *bonâ fide* solemnly express his conviction of the truth of all and every the articles, or perform an action that is to be interpreted as implying the same thing, unless he has maturely considered every doctrinal point in the articles, and by a preponderance of argument is persuaded of the truth; and is assured from his own very careful and attentive perusal, that the two books of Homilies do "contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for *these* times;" and that they ought "to be read in churches by the ministers, &c.," and intends to do so†: or again, if the articles are to be interpreted in "that sense, which to the plain and common understanding of men the words naturally convey;"—unless he believes, that Christ descended to that scene of punishment which is generally understood by the word "Hell;" and is of opinion that whosoever will be *saved*, according to the common acceptation of that word when used on religious subjects, must firmly believe from personal conviction the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in the manner in which it is explained in the Athanasian Creed.

Now, I am persuaded there is not one young man of only three-and-twenty years of age in the kingdom, nor one man of double that age, that can honestly declare all this, as it were, upon oath. Therefore, by giving your sanction to this rigid construction of the act of subscription, you do, as far as you are able, exclude from the church almost every young man of tender conscience, whose sterling worth, religious zeal, and professional labours, would be of the highest value in supporting the tottering fabric of the national establishment. You do more: you almost compel them to proffer their ministerial services to some dissenting congregation. They feel such a strong propensity of mind towards the ministry, that they could, in reply to the bishop, very confidently profess, that they are moved by the Holy Ghost. They find also, that they cannot conscientiously gain admittance into the national priesthood. They would, therefore, have much more, that they could allege in their justification, if they should join themselves to the dissenters, than H. Kirke White, had he done the same, as you noticed in your Magazine for March that he was strongly inclined to do. And you open the door of the ministry almost exclusively to those disgraceful members, that will affirm or assert any thing, that they don't understand, and have never considered, and with equal levity and indifference will profess to the bishop, that they are moved by the Holy Ghost; or to another set as despicable, that strain at gnats and swallow camels,

* The churchwarden's oath is as follows: "You shall swear truly and faithfully to execute the office of churchwarden within your parish, and according to the best of your skill and knowledge present such things and persons as to your knowledge are presentable by the laws ecclesiastical of this realm."—What one churchwarden in a thousand ever inquires what things or persons are presentable, or thinks of making presentations?

† Notwithstanding you observe, that "some parts even of the Homilies are now too coarse for the public ear."

and will issue their unqualified anathemas against all who will not as implicitly adopt every identical proposition in the national creed as themselves.

Surely, then, it is no more than common policy in those that wish well to the establishment, to interpret an action, which in its own nature is ambiguous, with a considerable degree of latitude, and thereby to remove needless scruples and difficulties out of the way of conscientious young men, either in regard to certain doctrinal points, or, it may be, mere assertions, that have almost no direct connection with righteousness, joy, and peace, but are only rendered impediments to their devoting their professional labours to the service of the national church, or the interests of true religion and virtue. And let us honestly avow it; and not allow the whole business of subscription to appear as a piece of chicanery and collusion.

If you think proper to allot to the preceding sentiments a place in your magazine, I may trouble you hereafter with some thoughts on the subject of doctrine, and perhaps may assign farther reasons, as some may be collected from what I have now advanced, for my "remarkable silence on almost all doctrinal points," and endeavour to liberate you from those "uneasy suspicions" which you kindly entertain on my behalf.

I am, &c.

Segrave, July 26, 1808. R. A. INGRAM *.

We feel it to be our duty shortly to state, that the remarks now made by Mr. Ingram have in no degree diminished the weight of the objections which we expressed in a former number to the view he had taken of the nature of subscription to the Articles. On the contrary, they have only served to confirm and strengthen those objections. We can scarcely conceive a greater calamity to befal the church, than the general adoption by the clergy of the principles which Mr. Ingram has laboured to accredit. But we have not room at present to enlarge on the subject. It is far too important, however, to be lightly passed over; and if not anticipated by some able correspondent, we shall certainly take an opportunity of stating the reasons which induce us to enter our protest against sentiments so unsound in themselves and so unfavourable to fair dealing, as those of Mr. Ingram appear to us to be.

* We have transferred Mr. Ingram's letter from the "Review of Reviews" to this part of our work, from an apprehension that it may possibly lead to much discussion.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

You have not, I think, as yet expressed your opinion of Dr. Bell's system of education, originally established at Madras, and lately patronised by several great names in this country; but its importance is such as to give it a strong claim to your attention, and to that of your readers. I speak only of his system of literary education, for with this alone am I acquainted; and his plan for schools of industry is not likely, I think, to be adopted in many instances in this country. No one, who has seen Dr. Bell's system for literary instruction carried into practice, can doubt of its surprising efficacy in a reading-school for the poor. I really believe that children will in Dr. Bell's way learn as much in one year as they commonly do in four; and that the expense of that year's instruction needs not to be more than a fourth or a fifth part of the expense of any one of the four years. It is evident what wonderful facility and encouragement such a system must give to the universal diffusion of that moderate acquaintance with the first rudiments of literature among the poor, which is now thought by almost all to be highly conducive to the welfare both of the individuals and of the community at large. But in this case, as in most others where great advantages are promised by a course

of proceeding, when considered in one point of view, it may be necessary to repress the enthusiasm which the first view of such a plan is calculated to excite in enlightened and benevolent minds, and to see what concomitant evils there may be to be taken into consideration on the other side. I will briefly mention, for the consideration of your readers, such as have occurred to me. It is my purpose rather to introduce this very important subject to them as a topic for future and extended discussion, in which many, I hope, will take a part, than to enlarge upon it myself at present.

1. It appears to me, that while the great peculiarity in the machinery of Dr. Bell's plan is the employing of the scholars to teach each other; so the main spring by which this part of his machinery is put in motion, and rendered capable of producing such great effects, is the passion of emulation. This passion is more extensively, systematically, and unremittingly brought into action by Dr. Bell, than in any other system, of any kind, that has come under my observation. It is no wonder, then, that, by the aid of this most powerful stimulus, thus ably and perseveringly employed, a degree of attention, and ardour, and exertion, should be introduced among children educated according to Dr. Bell's plan, which is perfectly astonishing to those who have been conversant only with the old methods of teaching. But the question occurs, how far is emulation an affection of the mind which God approves? If not, it is clear that it ought not to be cherished, by being brought into action, on account of any advantages which we may hope to obtain by employing it. We must not do evil that good may come. I am of opinion that emulation, when fully scrutinised and rightly understood, will be found to be opposed to holiness, and, consequently, that the utmost care ought to be taken to subdue and eradicate it in the hearts of children. Instead, however, of going into this subject now, I will content myself with referring your readers to what is said upon it by Mr. Law in his Serious Call, and by Mr. Gisborne in his Duties of Women.

2. I do not by any means like constituting children judges of the conduct of each other, as Dr. Bell proposes. This measure seems to me likely to fill them with self-conceit and self-confidence, and to impair, if not to destroy, that humility and deference to the authority of their superiors, which it is so important to encourage. The young are sufficiently ready to think themselves able to judge and decide for themselves, whatever care may have been taken to teach them to look up to their parents and masters for advice and direction. What, then, but a strong spirit of self-will, and a disposition to shake off restraint, can be expected from a system, in which children are called upon to decide on the demerit of criminals, and to deliver their verdict to the master? And if such a spirit be produced, it will be as fatal to true religion, as to concord and good order in families and in society. It is the very opposite soil to that in which Christian faith takes root and flourishes. It is the disposition which more than any other has produced not only jacobins in the state, but infidels in religion.

3. Dr. Bell considers it as one of the chief advantages of his plan, that it enables a single master to take charge of a school of almost any size—of 500, or even 1000 boys; and thereby lessens to a most surprising degree the expense of education. This effect, most desirable in itself, is certainly produced; and in order to obtain it, there will assuredly be a strong propensity, wherever Dr. Bell's plan is adopted, to bring as many children into one school as circumstances will permit. Now are there not great moral evils in bringing great numbers of children together? Are not those evils deeply felt by all religious minds,

when our great schools at Eton and Westminster, and our extensive manufactories, are contemplated? There may be palliations of these evils in the case of Dr. Bell's schools; but there is one important aggravation; namely, that there is but *one* man or woman to watch over all the children. And, so far as my experience has gone, children are very indifferent moral guardians of each other.

4. It is particularly undesirable to bring together a great number of children in the case of schools for the poor; for the present salutary separation of children of different characters in distinct schools will thereby be done away. According to the existing course of things, there are in market towns or populous parishes several schools for the children of the labouring class; some under more respectable masters, others under those of less respectability. The former, whose terms are somewhat higher than those of the others, naturally attract the children of the more decent and industrious parents: while the latter are filled by children who come from homes in which good order and good habits are less enforced, or perhaps altogether neglected. It is apparent that there will be a considerable difference between the manners and morals of the scholars at these different schools; and if the best and the worst of the schools were compared, that difference would be found very striking. Now is not the union of all these children in one school highly to be deprecated? Under the known propensities of human nature, is it not far more likely that the bad will corrupt the good, than that the good will correct the faults of the bad? And yet such a union, with the exceptions of a few children whose parents might fear the consequences, would be the natural effect of establishing one of Dr. Bell's schools in a populous place. The great cheapness of education would make it impossible for the schools on the old plan to stand a competition with it: and the children of the well-disposed and well-behaved labourer or mechanic would be brought into contact with those of the most dissolute members of society.

5. One more point of considerable importance remains to be mentioned. The advantages of education consist not more perhaps in the knowledge it conveys, than in the habits it forms. The self-command, the method, the obedience, the civility, the cleanliness, which are required at schools, are most useful lessons, and have a most powerful influence on the future character through life. Now the strength of a habit depends in a considerable degree on the time during which it is forming, and on the early period at which it commences. At present the poor are commonly at school from three to six years, and go there very early. But as under Dr. Bell's plan they will attain the requisite knowledge in one year, or at most in two years, it is to be feared that few or none will go to school very early, or stay there beyond that period of time. The loss to good manners and good morals, from this change of system, will be best appreciated by such persons as have had opportunities of comparing boys who have had a pretty long school education, with those of the same parish who have not.

I will forbear, agreeably to the rule which I have laid down for myself on this occasion, from making any farther remarks on this subject, but leave it to some of your other correspondents to point out any circumstances which in their opinion may increase, or lessen, or counterbalance, the evils I have mentioned. For Dr. Bell and his labours, I have the highest respect; and in endeavouring to bring on a discussion on the best methods of educating the poor, though I introduce it by pointing out some objections to his system of literary education, I hope he will consider me as a fellow labourer (though a very

humble one) in the same field with himself.

R. S.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THOSE passages in the liturgy, and particularly the burial service, descriptive of the Christian character and hope, and either appointed to be joined in by the whole church or applied without discrimination to all her members, have naturally and reasonably created some difficulty in the minds of reflecting people; and different explanations have been resorted to in order to solve it. With respect to the burial service in particular, I had long seemed to myself to observe a peculiar caution in its phraseology, which, while it most naturally bore the interpretation of a sentiment favourable to the deceased, and thereby provided for its most important objects, the real members of the church, abstained from making any assertion independent of character. In other words, it seemed to be so guarded as to have a chief respect to the righteous, to whom all its favourable expressions are applicable; and at the same time, without expressing any thing peculiarly appropriate to the wicked, to determine nothing respecting the state or prospects of such: the compilers of our liturgy probably considering, that it would be productive of no good, and certainly productive of great pain to the attending relatives or friends, to make any allusion of this sort. The burial service was not intended to pass judgment upon the dead, but to improve the solemn event.

I have, however, heard this difficulty solved in another way; and although I cannot say that it as yet commands my perfect assent, the respectability of the quarter from which it has been suggested inclines me to wish that it might undergo some discussion in your pages. The solution is, that the church supposes all her members to be faithful ones, and that, making the allowances which belong to the varieties and defectiveness of their characters, they are all considered as children of God, and in a state of acceptance: while of unsound members, admitting their existence, no account whatever is taken. Although this is ingenious, and congenial enough with some ancient, and, in a way, some modern views of the church (times, too, may be imagined when it was just); yet, considering the general state of Christian, particularly national, churches, it is a serious question, whether it be consistent with sincerity and fidelity to construct the public service, or any part of it, on a system which has an evident tendency to flatter a pharisaic dependence upon an external religion, and to lull the consciences of irreligious formalists in a false and destructive security. If the power of excommunication—*i. e.* the just power of excluding unworthy members, while so continuing, from Christian communion—were in any moderate degree possessed and exercised, an inclination to a charitable judgment would justify this method.

UTER.

MISCELLANEOUS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE subject of the conversion of India to Christianity is highly interesting, in whatever point of view it is contemplated. Many parts of it have of late received ample investigation. You yourselves have been among the examiners and disputants; and though you may have failed to

convince some, you have certainly confirmed me in the decision I had formed as to the duty of Great Britain in this important crisis. There is one part of this question, however, which, although it constituted a direct article of the thesis proposed by Dr. Buchanan, has not been examined with the fulness which it seems to demand; and this is, "How far the *design of Providence, as to the evangelizing of India, may be collected from her present subjugation to Great Britain.*"

On this important and curious subject I have committed some thoughts to paper, which I propose to submit to the public, through the medium of your miscellany, in a series of numbers; and shall be happy if they should in any degree assist to keep the eye of our countrymen awake to their own duty, and to the religious interests of India.

O.

ON THE PROBABLE DESIGN OF PROVIDENCE IN SUBJECTING INDIA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

No. I.

A BRIEF survey of the sacred writings would at once establish the conclusion, that the ultimate design of Providence in all national dispensations is the universal diffusion of the religion of Christ. From such a survey, therefore, these important conclusions, with respect to that particular dispensation which subjected India to Great Britain, would of necessity follow:—First, that the conversion of India is essential to the general fulfilment of the designs of Providence; secondly, that this conversion is the end ultimately to be accomplished by the various national dispensations in which her fortunes are concerned; thirdly, that the dispensation which has placed her in the hands of Great Britain is destined, directly or indirectly, by a straight or circuitous route, to bring her under the yoke of Christ.

But this result is of a very general nature. Nothing is here ascertained peculiar to the very singular dispensation we are contemplating; and what has been affirmed of it might be affirmed of any obscure event in the history of nations. The inquiry by which our curiosity is naturally and strongly excited, is this; Whether the subjection of India to Great Britain is not intended to give a *direct impulse in this great work of Providence; or whether the crisis is not arrived, when, by the instrumentality of Great Britain, Christianity is to be introduced into the East.*

The hypothesis, which supposes this dispensation to have this immediate object, will be at once rejected by some upon very general grounds. They will say: "We admit that revelation furnishes us with sufficient evidence that the general design of Providence in all national dispensations is the ultimate diffusion of Christianity; but when we look to *fact*, we see good reason to conclude that the work is not yet perceptibly begun; that God has not yet designed any national dispensation as the *immediate* instrument of propagating religion; and that the conversion of the world is to be effected by interferences far different from that which is the subject of our inquiry." As this objection is continually urged, and, to say the least, may be plausibly maintained, we think it necessary to give it a full investigation.

Having collected the evidence of the design of Providence which is to be derived from *fact*, we shall in a future paper more directly pursue our discussion.

It must be admitted that the history of the world presents us with many facts which at first sight appear to square but ill with the design, which, upon the authority of the Scriptures, has been attributed to Providence. There are several dispensations of the first magnitude, which seem even to erect and marshal themselves in proud defiance of this design. But upon more minute inquiry it will be seen, we think, that the most apparently

unbending and contumacious of these have been in secret fighting the battles of Christianity. We shall first endeavour to shew, *that the argument from fact is more favourable to our hypothesis than has been generally admitted;* and, secondly, *produce some cases in confirmation of our rule.*

1. In the first place, the evidence which an investigation of the facts furnishes, as to this design of Providence, is not to be rejected because *it supplies no proof of constant miraculous interposition.* It is plain, that, in the fulfilment of all his designs, God works by miracles only where nothing short of these will accomplish them. A constant miracle would either force the concurrence of his creatures, or cease to be esteemed a miracle. If, therefore, an uninterrupted series of miracles were necessary to prove any design in Providence, it would perhaps not be impossible to shew that Providence is without a design. The truth is, that, far from such a series being essential to attest a design, any *single* miracle, of which the object is clear and determinate, is sufficient for the purpose.

Again; it is not necessary to the execution of this design that Providence should, in all cases, *protect the people who profess the true religion.* If any people were uniformly guarded and strengthened by the interpositions of Providence, it might perhaps fairly be urged, that it was the people, and not their religion, God was anxious to preserve. If it is the religion which he protects, he will measure his conduct to the people by the standard of their piety. His hand will aid them as they advance, and scourge them as they recede. The conquests of Assyria under one economy, and of Mahomet under the other, admit of this interpretation. God has, in every case, evinced himself desirous, not to preserve the people, at any rate, but to preserve them a religious people; in other words, to preserve the religion they profess. The nation is continually scourged for the sake of the religion, but the religion never dishonoured to exalt the nation.

In the third place, *many events, which have been urged as hostile to the interests of religion, have in fact contributed to its welfare.*

Look (it is said) to the fact. Can the captivity of the Jews and the persecution of the Christians, the intestine tumults and external calamities of the church of Rome, the irruption of the northern nations, be reconciled to the design of diffusing the true religion? We answer, Yes; all these have swelled the triumphs of Christianity. The Jews never relapsed into idolatry after the captivity: "the blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the church*:" from the stagnant marshes of popery sprung the genius of the reformation: the icy bosoms of the northern nations thawed beneath the suns of Italy, and they received civilisation and Christianity at the hands of their captives. Persecution, indeed, has seldom carried its end. It arises perhaps from the corruption of human nature, that the virtues of men, like some plants, will flourish most in the shade. It certainly belongs to the course of God's providence to pour out most copiously that "wisdom which is from above," when the resources of human wisdom seem to be the most completely exhausted. Where Christianity has been assailed from without, she has perhaps never failed, but where her internal corruption rendered her unworthy to survive. In other cases, whilst all other institutions have bowed before the storm of invasion, her temples have stood erect amidst the surrounding ruins; and those who came to ravage have staid to worship. Hence it will appear, that Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus may perhaps take the same rank as agents in the scheme of diffusing the true religion; and that the tyranny of Trajan, the philosophic

* Tertullian.

hatred of Aurelius, the fury of Decius, possibly fought the battles of Christianity as successfully, as the judicious toleration of the first Antonine, the indifference of Commodus, or the pious zeal of Constantine. Hence therefore it is evident, that the reasoning from fact is frequently favourable to our argument, where it has been conceived to be against it.

2. The cases which might be adduced in confirmation of our rule are almost innumerable; but there are two which particularly deserve our attention.

The case of the Jews is without any parallel in the history of nations. The ark of God once committed to their hands, they seem for ages to have fixed the attention and employed the resources of Heaven. The remarks upon this case which follow, seem to merit some attention.

In the first place, we see, in this instance, the only people to whom the true religion was entrusted, guarded by a succession of miraculous interpositions. Now as this can be affirmed of no other people, it is a fact which seems at once to put to flight all testimony of an opposite nature. Indeed, no design hostile to the establishment of religion can pretend to one miracle wrought in its cause. Nor could the object of a single miracle be unerringly determined; that of a series of miracles may; and where all converge to the same point it is not easy to mistake the direction of any.

This case also indicates a design in God no less to diffuse than to perpetuate the religion. It has been sometimes asked, why the land of Judea should have been selected as the Land of Promise, when other countries of equal fertility might have been acquired with less labour and bloodshed. The ultimate design of diffusing the true religion supplies us with the best solution of this difficulty. No point of the universe appears better adapted for the theatre of such a design than Judea. So centrical was its situation, and its facilities of communication with other nations so singular, that the maritime cities in its neighbourhood were for a long time the emporia of the world. Tyre at one period, and Alexandria at another, have furnished a kind of bank, where the inhabitants of one hemisphere might deposit its produce to be drawn off by those of another.

It should be observed, *thirdly*, that the interpositions which by turns agitated or upheld Judea, were felt through all the surrounding nations. Egypt, Canaan, Assyria, Media, become the scene of the divine dispensations. As they come, in succession, within the same sphere of action with Judea, we see them attracted by the same force, and governed by the same laws. The hand of God then displays itself bending their course according to the direction which his own designs have taken.

A *second case*, not inferior to this in moment or singularity, remains to be considered. No event fills so large a space in the eye of the historian, as the conquest and dominion of Rome. The Romans discovered those new worlds to conquer, for which Alexander inquired. In Africa *he* subdued only the parts adjoining to Egypt; to the north he was stopped by Thrace, and to the west by the Adriatic. The pretensions made by other conquerors to universal dominion are even inferior to those of the Macedonian. The intentions of Charles the Fifth are still dubious. The attempts of Charles the Twelfth are only recorded as proofs of his insanity. Those of Henry the Fourth perhaps only existed in the *port-feuille* of his minister *. What these men dreamt of, however, Rome achieved: and the wings of her eagles overshadowed a submissive empire which reached from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules. The operations of such an empire may be regarded

* Chambrier sur le grand Dessein de Henri IV.

as the movement of a master-wheel in the machine of the universe. And as in the works of art, it is the result produced by the revolution of the greater wheels from which the design of the artist in the construction of the whole can be inferred; so the design of God can best be approached by watching the influence of an empire to whose interests those of every other nation appear to have been subordinate. Is it not, therefore, a fact of great importance in the decision of the present question, that the ascendancy of Rome was powerfully instrumental in diffusing the true religion? For let the influence of the peculiar state of politics at that time be considered. Rome, when Christianity was first preached, was at the zenith of her prosperity: the power of her arms and the transcendancy of her genius were recognised by all the surrounding nations. That people were in themselves fit subjects for Christianity, who, as their historians* teach us, were always distinguished by their veneration for the gods, and their solemn regard to an oath. Their domestic situation was also highly favourable to the introduction of the true religion. It is obvious that learning can only be cultivated in states such as Rome, where the diffusion of wealth relieves many from the burden of bodily labour. It is equally obvious that real learning is always serviceable to the cause of truth †. The literature of Rome must therefore have assisted the progress of religion. But her chief influence consisted in that ready circulation which every opinion taught within her walls obtained. Her local advantages, independent of her sovereignty, were considerable for this end: among which may be numbered her centrical situation and her proximity to the Mediterranean:—the city, moreover, thronged with strangers from every quarter of the globe; who carried back the opinions, as well as manners, of the metropolis to the provinces. Her proconsuls and quæstors might themselves be Christians, or have them in their train. The language afforded a common medium of communication with all the world. There is, beside, a mode in morals as well as in inferior matters: and the doctrine fashionable at Rome would, by a secret influence, soon establish itself in her dependancies. We find, therefore, that even whilst the dogs of persecution were let loose at intervals by the emperors upon the Christians, the religion made rapid advances*.

But the principal figure in such a view of Rome is Constantine. When the conversion of the emperor took place, all these instruments had their full play, and a thousand others conspired to strengthen the hands of the Christians. Religion was scarcely ever preached in vain from the throne †; and the lessons of Constantine would be heard through that hemisphere over which his sceptre extended. Rome may be considered as the heart of the body politic, and the doctrines collected there, by the natural energy of the system, forced their way to the remotest members. Only twenty years after, we find Maternus calling upon Constantius, in order to secure *uniformity*, to cut away the miserable *relic* of paganism ‡. And fifty years later, Jerome is heard exulting as he stands amidst the *last ruins* of the ancient superstition §.

* Livy and Polybius.

† Not only did Christianity first establish itself in the period of the greatest learning, but the revival of religion was contemporary with the revival of letters.

* Plinii Epist. x. 9798. Just. Mart. Dialog. cum. Tryph. Tertull. Apol. c. 37.

† The idolatry of the Jews regularly fluctuated with the character of their princes. Jewish Scrip. passim. The reformation prospered only in those parts of Germany where the monarchs were favourable to it; and it had few followers in England till Henry the Eighth became their leader.

‡ De Error profan. relig. c. 21. p. 72. Lardner, vol. 8. p. 262.

§ Jerome ad sect. ep. 57.

It is not by any means contended that these peculiarities in the history of Rome account for the diffusion of Christianity; because the vices of men were such, and the doctrines of the religion were so opposed to these vices, that nothing but the arm of God could have planted or preserved it. But as the supremacy of Rome seems to be the great result to which all the movements of Providence tended; as this supremacy, beyond every thing, served to circulate and establish Christianity; surely we might state, even from a view of *facts*, that God has already fully entered upon his undertaking, and designs the vicissitudes of nations as direct instruments of diffusing the true religion.

An investigation of facts, therefore, by no means disproves that position, suggested by reasoning of a more general nature, That God designs, by subjecting India to Great Britain, to employ the last as the instrument of introducing Christianity into the East. Facts, by shewing us that God has already employed the vicissitudes of nations to strengthen the sceptre of religion, give us reason to anticipate the same result from similar dispensations; and to conclude, that as we have conquered with Rome, so with her we are even now to lay our spoils at the feet of Christ.

The conclusion thus arrived at by a general search into the events of history, will be erected upon a more ample basis by an investigation of the peculiar features of that dispensation which is the object of our present inquiry.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Your publication, ever open to the complaints of the distressed, has announced to the world the sufferings of that venerable character "Sunday Morning." He, sir, is my eldest brother, to whom I gave place, as in duty bound; but I must now beg permission to come forward with a narrative of my own wretched case, which must be allowed greatly to exceed his in calamity. He *exists*, though in a neglected state; but I am deprived of existence. Bear with me, kind sir, in this apparently wild language, nor let your readers be startled when I tell them that I am only the shade or apparition of my former self. Let them not hiss me off the stage as an impertinent non-entity, who want to write myself into consequence, though I am dead in law; but listen rather to my narrative, which I promise them shall be very brief. I am (or rather I was) the middlemost of three brothers. We lived together in great harmony, and were united in our endeavours to cheer and to edify mankind. The stated visits of the eldest, of which you have already heard, were regularly succeeded by those of the two younger ones, for we divided the day amongst us; and I was second in rotation. We were all hailed with equal pleasure, and I was treated with nearly the same gladdening solemnities as my predecessor. Soothed and animated by the exercises of the morning, the friends I waited upon seemed to be carried out still farther from the troubled ocean of life, and to be wafted to the very confines of that haven of rest and blessedness where pain and sorrow are unknown, and tears are wiped away from every eye. I could dwell with delight on these interviews; but, not to be tedious, I must come at once to the sad reverse. A set of envious and malignant conspirators plotted against me, and deprived me of usefulness and life together. You may easily judge of the change that succeeded. My eldest brother, indeed, continued his visits, but a general disaffection to our fraternity might be traced in the cold ceremonious civility with which he was treated; and as for me, I was completely forgotten. How I became acquainted with this new order of things, I proceed to relate. A gentleman of consideration, who is much

respected in his neighbourhood as a model of correct religious deportment, happened one day lately to be telling his neighbour, in my hearing (a faculty which in ghosts is very acute), "that, on the Sunday before, he and his family were at church, and in the evening drove over to a breakfasting party at —— Park." Struck with the oddity of the expression, as the mornings of the fashionable world are known to last till six or seven o'clock of what is vulgarly called the afternoon, I made further inquiry, and learnt, that at the moment I was cut off, it had been voted by a large majority of my countrymen, that the evenings on Sunday should commence for the future immediately after morning service. "The duty of the day" is then understood to be over: journeyings, visitings, airings, feastings, and (amongst the lower class) pastimes *, occupy all the remaining hours; and every thing connected with religion is banished, as by common consent. I have been told that the Rev. Mr. Milner †, the late eminent ecclesiastical historian, who had a great regard for our family, would sometimes, in a vein of melancholy humour, speak of this numerous class as a sect which had sprung up in his time under the title of "Semi-sabbatarians." Whether he was correct in his definition, and whether they may not rather be numbered amongst the modern Romanists, I leave it to abler judgments to determine. But, sir, the worst is yet to come. Could it have been believed, that the more pious and devout (I mean in the metropolis, from which the rest of the kingdom takes its form and impression); that even these, with some very few exceptions, should become almost as much estranged from me as their latitudinarian neighbours? Yet so it is! I glide in upon them, it is true; but find them so engaged at their tables, or tranquillised on their couches, that they will barely notice me. If I venture, as I sometimes do, in a gentle, spirit-like whisper, to solicit a nearer interview, I am told, that my youngest brother has the care of their concerns, and that they are waiting his arrival, which is just at hand. I was at first led to suppose that he had taken a double charge upon him, and was supplying my place; but I find it is otherwise. He reports, indeed, that there is a more shewy display of attachment to him than formerly; more bustle in his reception, and a larger attendance on his public levees; but he has been heard to lament a proportionate falling off from those confidential family parties which were so pleasant to himself and so profitable to his acquaintance. I could greatly enlarge on these affecting circumstances, but my engagement to be brief obliges me to conclude. My case appears, in every point of view, desperate; but if, contrary to all hope, a remedy could be devised, or in other words my resurrection accomplished, a vast benefit would be imparted to the community, and a lasting obligation conferred on, sir,

Your very sincere, though
distressed friend,
THE GHOST OF SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

* According to the public papers, a Sunday revel has been lately treated by high authority as in itself a harmless thing. It is to be hoped, however, that the statement was inaccurate. Every one must deplore the fatal consequences of the rash and injudicious interference which was resorted to to correct the excesses of one of these meetings.

† As any anecdote of that excellent man may be gratifying to your readers, the writer of this gives the following little story, which he heard from himself. Mr. Milner was one day dining with a genteel christening party in his parish, when the conversation turned much on the increase of sects. In the course of it, Mr. Milner was appealed to. He gravely introduced the description of this new sect, by the same name, and in nearly the same words, as is done here (and which, in fact, suggested the idea to the writer of this). What the effect was upon his auditors, to whom in reality the description applied, Mr. Milner did not say.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Quadriges petimus "*bene*" vivere.

You kindly gave us an instance, in one of your numbers, to prove it desirable that ministers should learn to read. But is it not equally so, that both ministers and reviewers should learn to understand? Feeling the importance of this axiom, I hasten to communicate a doctrine, of which I suspect most of the ministers who read your work are profoundly ignorant; and on which subject, sir, I must venture to suppose that your own mind is not enlightened. You have pressed upon your numerous readers most doctrines; but you have hitherto been silent upon a very interesting and important one,—"that every minister ought to keep his carriage." Your silence can only be the effect of your ignorance. I am in hopes, that you will not only candidly acknowledge this, but also be my adviser in some points of difficulty in which the doctrine, true as it may be, seems to be involved. I confess, sir, that it is a novel position. It is one which has never found its way into the decrees or decretals, though it would have fallen in so well with the procession and cavalcade, of the papacy. In vain may you search for it in the books called the "Extravagantes." Novel, however, as it may be, let the surprize of your readers cease, when they find the demonstration indisputable. Let it rather recoil upon themselves, for having been so long unacquainted with the inference to be drawn from these words: "we took up our carriages." Acts, ch. xxi. ver. 15. The maintainer of this doctrine has only to ask one or two questions, in the Socratic mode of reasoning, and the point is proved. Did the apostles take up their carriages or did they not? This cannot be denied. Could they take up what they did not possess? This also must be granted. The inference then is most plain, that as the apostles possessed carriages, and every minister is bound to follow their example, — ergo, every minister must keep his carriage also.

Now, sir, though this doctrine is thus *clearly made out*—as clearly, I do not hesitate to affirm, as that methodism is predicted in the Scripture —there seems to be some difficulties in causing the practice of it to become general. I state a few of them for your consideration: for though you have been proved, before this, to be *so great an Antinomian*, I think I may calculate upon your concurrent aid, to prevent *this* doctrine from being merely theoretical.

In the first place, the sudden demand for carriages would exhaust the community in Long Acre (for most ministers would wish to apply there, I conclude, as their credit amongst their people would naturally depend on the excellence of the vehicles.) This must be the source of many accidents, both to the clergy and laity: they would have to entrust their persons to unsound and unseasoned timber. These canonical carriages would be like those objects of pageantry, rather than terror, on the coast of a neighbouring country: they would soon become rotten. But who would not wish, "meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum." The expense to the individuals, is certainly an evil; but even if government could not be persuaded to provide them, I do not think it so great an evil as it may appear at first sight. For, sir, I am credibly informed, that all those who, relying on this doctrine, have hitherto succeeded in launching their carriages, have a wonderful access to the purses of their hearers. Whether they have an eloquence and ingenuity peculiar to themselves, or whether the carriage itself dazzles more than the eloquence, and thus, acting in a circle, produces at once the expense and disbursement, I cannot say. Such, however, is the fact. The expense, therefore, must be considered as a difficulty only of

the second magnitude, if it at all deserves the name.

But, sir, though we have got the carriage, and pretty nearly free of expense, how are we to set it in motion? The passage which I have quoted does not, alas! go to prove that ministers must keep *horses*. What argument *a priori* might be used to put the horses before the carriage, is, I avow, beyond my ability to surmise. However, we will pass, "*per saltum*," over this obstacle. Yet many gloomy forebodings present themselves to my mind. I am in considerable alarm, lest many of our most eminent divines should meet with the fate of the bishops in Smithfield, and become martyrs to the doctrine. Pray, sir, look with the hundred eyes of a reviewer, and tell me whether you perceive any regular body-coachmen. I cannot discover one. What, then, will be the consequence? Some inexperienced and irregular practitioner (perhaps the parish clerk) will have the reins committed to him on one day of the week; the horses will be put into full speed; and the carriage, which has stood week after week without any necessary precautions, must, according to the laws of nature, be very quickly in a blaze. There is only one supposable case in which this would not happen — which is, that it is overturned within the first forty yards. Indeed, sir, I fear, that, however ingeniously we may have proved the carriage to be a necessary part of a minister's establishment, it must take this melancholy motto: "Ingenio alitur, motibus excitatur, urendo clarescit."

We will suppose, however, that these impediments are also surmounted. We will suppose, not only that horses, but that an experienced and careful body-coachman, is a corollary to the problem. Still, of what use these carriages are to be in many of our remote villages of an Alpine nature (in many parts of Wales, for instance), I lament to say that I cannot divine. What, sir, is to become of a person living in the Fens? What is to become of him whose habitation is for many miles encircled with a deep clay? I believe these unfortunate clergymen might as well attempt in the literal sense to take up their carriages, as to think that their carriages would ever take them up. Unless a carriage were chosen from some of those submarine repositories through which it is fabled that Aristæus was conducted, for the sake of the ministers of the Isle of Ely; and a flying sociable were summoned up with a more potent wand than is to be found in Long Acre, for the other descriptions of ministers; they must live without carriages, and, of course, forfeit all respectability, and even the very title of ministers. Whilst I painfully feel these difficulties, far be it from me to say that they are insuperable. The ingenuity which extorted the doctrine need despair of nothing.

I have already occupied your time longer than I ought with objections: you must nevertheless allow me to disclose another perplexity, into which I have been thrown. We all of us acknowledge ourselves indebted to the reformers and fathers of the Church of England: now I cannot find, on the most diligent search, that these venerable and excellent men *in general* kept their carriages. It is, indeed, said that Erasmus wrote his Moriæ Encomium whilst performing a journey; which for a time gave me some hope, till I discovered that he certainly travelled on horseback. But, sir, I was in despair, when I read of Morton bishop of Durham walking up to London; Jewell traversing a great part of the continent in the same manner, and making a present of his stick, which he called his horse, to Master Hooker. My dilemma is this: I must either give up the doctrine, which I am very loth to do, or the fathers of the reformed church, to which I confess I do not very much incline.

Under this load of difficulty I should have sunk, had not another

text occured to me, which is *equally clear* with the one from the Acts of the Apostles. It is to be found in the fourth chapter of Proverbs, v. 11: "I have taught thee in the way of wisdom." But what light arises from hence? some may say. Why this text, like the other, is "φωναντα συνετοισι εξ δε το παν ερμηνεων χατιζει." *Pind.* The word *way*, means literally, in the original, a carriage-way. So that the verse should run, "I have taught thee in the *carriage-way* of wisdom." Do you think that Solomon was in the carriage way, without being in a carriage? Do you not *now* see the evident connection between carriages and wisdom?

Upon the whole, Mr. Editor, I must maintain that the doctrine is established. And are you aware of the application of it to your own case? I shrewdly suspect, that not only ministers, but all persons of gravity, will be found to be included among those who ought to take up their carriages. Permit me, then, by the way, to advise you to take an early hint, and apply for some cast-off chancellor's or speaker's coach; or something after that model, if you like to treat yourself with a new one. For the Anti-Jacobin, and British Critic, and the reviewers in general, I recommend a joint vehicle in the shape of a long-coach; but I would strongly dissuade you, sir, from being one of the party.

Before I conclude, I must touch upon one of the numerous good consequences which will result from a minister's keeping his carriage. I believe that, in "*ordinary*" cases, there cannot be devised a better preservative against the charge of methodism. In *extraordinary* cases, where the disease is *very inveterate*, it might certainly fail. But is it any objection to a medicine, that it is not a specific? If so, we must give up nearly the whole materia medica. I say then, sir, and speak from some experience, that an equipage of this sort would tend greatly to do away those vague and floating charges of methodism, which attach to some excellent characters. The gilded splendour of the carriage would dissipate those noxious vapours. "Vultus ubi tuus affulsit populo, gratior et dies." I have no doubt whatever, that the worthy clergyman whom we hear of in one of your numbers, would have made an earlier if not a deeper impression on the squire, wounded as his feelings might be at being preached at, had he whirled by him ten or a dozen times in his landaulet, than by fishing up his watch twenty times elbow deep from the bank of the river.

I am yours, &c.

AUTOMEDON *.

* It probably is unknown to many of your readers, but it is nevertheless strictly true, that a sect has sprung up of late, whose number I understand daily to increase, the leade s at least in which have not scrupled openly to avow the sentiment I have attempted to expose. They maintain, that if a minister of Christ have *faith*, right scriptural faith, he will, as a fruit and evidence of that faith, abound in the good things of this life; a doctrine which they support by a reference to such texts as these: "The meek shall inherit the earth:" "Seek first the kingdom of God, &c. and all these things shall be added unto you." Among other good things, which such a minister will certainly enjoy, they reckon *a carriage*; and they refer, in confirmation of their opinion, to the text quoted above from Acts xxi 1". Lest I should be thought to have fabricated this representation, a conclusion to which its absurdity and extravagance might very fairly lead your readers, I beg to state, that the persons who promulgate and strenuously maintain the opinions in question, are Mr. William Huntington, of Providence Chapel, Titchfield Street, and his followers in town and country; and it is no unapt illustration of the truth of the doctrine, that Mr. Huntington himself keeps, and has long kept, *his* carriage.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

JAY'S *Life of Winter.*

(*Concluded from p. 546.*)

MR. WINTER, as well as many of his friends, very naturally considered the refusal of the bishop to ordain him, to be a strong mark of disaffection to serious and true religion. They do not appear to have entertained any idea of the existence of that kind of reasonable objection to much of the character and conduct of Mr. Whitefield, of which we treated in our last number; and their simplicity upon this point is our best justification for having so largely expatiated upon it. A plain uneducated man, like Mr. Winter, deriving his early and his chief impressions of religion from Mr. Whitefield; accustomed to witness in him a remarkable fervour of piety, and to see both a cold religion and a low morality to prevail in so many other quarters, would obviously not be nice in his discernment of the faults of his instructor; and we are chiefly surprised that he was not himself more infected with them. It appears, by subsequent parts of the narrative, that Mr. Winter was not quite methodist enough for many of those adherents of the Tabernacle with whom he had allied himself. Evidence is also given, that the general body of religious people with whom he became conversant, consisted, like that kingdom of heaven of which our Saviour spoke, of "tares" as well as "wheat," of "guests" "bad and good," of "fishes" which, though all alike were caught in the Gospel net, were fit some to be retained and some to be "cast away." Much of that trouble and disappointment to which we shall have now to advert, arose from the multitude of weak or false brethren; much from the peculiar scantiness of Mr. Winter's purse, and the state of consequent dependence in which he was placed; and much from the general contrariety to true and strict religion which is to be found in this corrupted world. His integrity, however, if we may judge from the obscure hints which he intersperses in his modest narrative, seems after this period, in the same manner as before it, to have generally preserved him. His mind appears to have been habitually exercised in endeavouring to trace the path of duty.

"My disappointment," he proceeds to say, "at failing to obtain episcopal ordination, as you may suppose, was attended with a little shock.---But my uneasy feelings were overbalanced by the testimony of my conscience. I had used no shifts nor evasions to insinuate myself into his lordship's favor, judging them to be beneath the Christian. Some of my brethren have reflected on me for trying, as they supposed, the whole bench to obtain ordination; but I never applied to any beside the bishop of St. Asaph, after the bishop of London refused me. The interview with the former was short, but favorable: he told me he would be my friend under the rose; but I did not wait on him a second time*. Some of the clergy in Dr. Bray's association required, in order to my having their interest, that I should renounce my present sentiments; but *Dr. Franklin* properly said, He was persuaded I had too much honesty to do so. When he mentioned it to me, I told him I had no sentiment to renounce."

* It is not clear from the narrative, whether the words "he told me he would be my friend *under the rose*," are meant to be represented as the terms used by his lordship, or merely as giving Mr. Winter's impression of his lordship's general meaning. The expression appears to us to imply a timidity and concealment which would be quite unworthy of a bishop. Indeed, we incline to think that no person, possessing that prudence and that experience of mankind which commonly belong to men in the higher classes, would so far commit himself to a stranger soliciting a favour, as to assure him that he would be his friend *under the rose*; an observation which it was impossible to know that the applicant would not at some time or other publish to the

Mr. Winter was now tossed about among his different acquaintance. To one, he says, who received him cordially on his arrival, and was pleased at the ill success of his application to the bishops, he gave offence by making free with a sheet of writing paper: the paper-case was consequently locked up. In obedience to a further hint, he left the quarters of this uncomfortable host. Being invited to preach in the Bristol Tabernacle, "which Mr. Whitefield, though it was under his auspices, had neglected to mention in his will;" "all being in confusion also at the London tabernacle," in consequence of Mr. Whitefield's death; Mr. Winter conceived "the voice of Providence to be heard very loud" in the offer which was made to him. He therefore "released himself from the inconveniences of his London situation, and re-entered on his ministerial labours at Bristol." His acquaintance with Mr. Rowland Hill commenced at the same era; a man of whom he takes occasion to remark, that if "the same degree of honesty and honour had been in some pretending friends, that (for twenty-eight years) he has proved in him, there would not have been such diversity in these memoirs." "At this time," he adds, "I had no more than literally daily bread. My twelve guineas, which I brought home, was *(were)* exhausted. My dying friend used to remind me, that I wanted a new suit of clothes: I replied, when I could pay for them I would have them. Neglected by the Tabernacle connections, itinerancy seemed to be my lot." He now run in debt ten pounds, for a horse which carried him more than six years; but through some of the rich friends of Mr. Hill "his exhausted cruse was supplied," and by the occasional bounty of some other benefactors he now and then was enabled to relieve the wants of others. Haverfordwest, Lancaster, Leeds, Halifax, and London, were visited in their turn. His "interference in a very critical business at Bristol brought him into fresh trouble, and exposed him to reflection." A person once in high esteem for religion seems here to be animadverted upon, as well as the general body of persons conducting at this time the affairs of the Tabernacle, with only three special exceptions. Gloucestershire and Wilts were now the circle in which he more commonly moved. But still no stipend was connected with his labours. Receiving only occasional gratuities, he felt desirous of a place to retire to; and "I groaned," he says, "under the want of improvement." He endeavoured, even under these adverse circumstances, to enlarge his mind by study; but he was sometimes detected in this unrighteous work by some of "the enemies of literature;" "for our connections," says he, "abounded with many who made little discrimination between study and sin." "Every now and then," he honestly tells us, "his inclination to be ordained as a minister of the church revived." We heartily wish that the accumulation of prejudice, likely at this time to operate against him, could have been removed, and that his true character could have been made known. He was ordained, by the dissenters, to "the three societies of Castlecombe, Christian-malford, and Chippenham." We churchmen, when we hear of a minister's being thus ordained to three livings, might be not unlikely to congratulate him on the acquisition of a triple as well as settled income. The day of Mr. Winter's independence, however, was not yet arrived. "It may serve," says he, "as a sufficient apology for my having been a pluralist, that I had (still) no stipend. I was ig-

whole world, or repeat to some of the very persons towards whom it was intended to use concealment. We suspect that the term "a friend under the rose," is a description only of Mr. Winter's conception of the bishop's meaning; and that it implies, according to Mr. Winter's vocabulary, less of studied concealment, than it does according to the usual interpretation of it.

norant from what quarter my resources were to come. The poverty of the people not only prevented them from helping me, but rendered it necessary that I, out of my uncertain quota, should help them." "I was allowed," he adds, "to bear all the expense of the ordination myself." But the good man appears now to have been much consoled in mind: he had felt that some special designation to the work of the ministry was proper, "as a fence against intrusion into it;" and was also strictly requisite in order to justify the administration of the sacraments. His outward trouble, however, was in some respect increased. Even this his ordination among the dissenters gave umbrage to some of them, and was considered as subversive of the spirit of godliness, rather than conducive to real good." One of the three ordaining preachers was a baptist; and he, it seems, had privately diffused his notions with some success. One consequence was, that when Mr. Winter baptized infants, though he performed the ordinance with great tenderness to those of opposite sentiments, he gave offence, and "the offended persons absconded from his ministry."

"At Castle-combe and Chippenham," says he, "I met with more civility, but little disposition to render my life comfortable, or to conform to the order I endeavoured to establish among them. At Rodborough, Dursley, Wotton-underedge, and Frampton, in Glocestershire, my visits were acceptable and useful. Every one of these places, was a field for much action. In each place, I administered the ordinance of the Lord's supper, as often as the several societies judged it necessary, or found it convenient to receive it. I grasped at retirement as I could catch it, but was often intruded upon, and the nature of my studies being discovered, snbjected me to much reflection. I should have been much more acceptable to some descriptions of our friends, if instead of endeavoring to acquaint myself with science and language, I had indulged long conversations upon what amounted to nothing, and instead of spending a few minutes, had wasted many hours. I now and then, but seldom, saw London, and always had access to the tabernacle pulpit when there; nor was the tabernacle pulpit at Bristol, shut against me, but no invitations were given to me, as to others, to supply it. As often as possible I returned to my little apartment, at Christian-malford; but while, notwithstanding the hard measures I received from some of its leading members, I enjoyed it in preference to every place upon the globe, it was not possible for want of subsistence that I should continue there more than a few days at a time, and then my hours were divided between the other two congregations. The male-contents continued to stand aloof, and I felt it very unpleasant to labor under the disesteem of a people, who had received the fullest proof of my attachment to them.

"Though I had been often grieved and was much neglected, by several of the leading people in the methodist congregations, my affections were far from being alienated. My method of preaching was found fault with, as too orderly and exact; yet it always was attended by audiences respectable for number. Could I have moved regularly and have commanded necessary retirement, I might have put up with a variety of inconveniences; but I often took very long and unnecessary journeys, and the plans, usually settled at Rodborough, on the first Wednesday in the month, were often innovated. I was now entered into the thirty-fourth year of my age, and while on a review of the last twelve years, I had reason to be thankful for an evidence of God's gracious acceptance of my very imperfect services, and for the instances I met with of their having been useful, I had cause to be humble, and could not help feeling myself shocked on conviction, that I had, though unavoidably, neglected necessary pursuits. I considered that I was now in the meridian of life. My confidence in my present connexions began to weaken, and I felt much inclined if Providence should admit, to become a resident minister." p. 163.

"Accordingly," he "preached probationary sermons at Marlborough; and being accepted by the universal consent of the people, commenced the relation of pastor to the church." Having thus advanced from a catechist, as he termed himself, and an instructor of negroes in America, to a tabernacle preacher and itinerant in England; from an itinerant to an ordained minister with three several cures, but no fixed salary; and from a pluralist of this class to a settled

minister with a settled salary, his fortune, perhaps it will be thought, was at length made. Thirty pounds per annum, however, was the whole of the settled income agreed to be granted by this people. "I was therefore under the necessity," says he, "to set out parsimoniously." "Marlborough," he then observes, was a high-church neighbourhood, and full of prejudice against methodism, for under that appellation I was considered, and many of its inhabitants are men of letters." "Therefore I entered sparingly into company, conversed with caution, and improved my time to the best advantage." His labours, however, were not light:

"I preached thrice on the Lord's-day, met a society on the Monday evening, statedly preached a lecture on the Thursday evening, preached in the country on Tuesday, or on Wednesday, or on Friday, and very often had engagements on each day in the evening, and on Saturday, held a reading and prayer meeting." "Our congregations grew, and some good was done, but the prejudice of the neighborhood was very powerful, and the young people imbibed it." "I found as I gained knowledge of my flock, that I had need of patience, while I had cause for thankfulness. I was not a stranger to the divine presence neither in my retired moments nor in my public work. Always weakly, I felt the weight of my office." "The closeness of the country-houses in which I preached, and the changes from heat to cold, had an hazardous effect upon my frame." p. 169.

We now come to another interesting era in Mr. Winter's life; and we shall again permit him to tell his own simple story.

"My first settlement at Marlborough had many inconveniences attending it, which a more liberal subsistence might have prevented, and after a while, I judged they were only to be relieved by matrimony. I supposed there would be a delicacy in addressing a person of property, myself being destitute; and I conceived I should gain no relief by forming a connexion with one in circumstances equally narrow as my own. I considered my advance unsuitable to the commencement of family cares, especially as I had no prospect of becoming considerable in circumstances. I made it matter of prayer, that I might be directed to a suitable object, by the good hand of Providence, which had hitherto enabled me to steer my course prudently. A friend, who well knew my sentiments upon this head, and conceived them proper, encouraged my indulging attention to Miss Brown, well known to the neighborhood, whose respectable character and conduct procured her universal esteem. He introduced me to her. She was supposed to be very affluent, from the great liberality she exercised to the poor, for which she was enabled, rather from industry and œconomy, than from patrimony, or from the considerable profits she gained by a small farm, which, in conjunction with her youngest sister, she rented, and superintended. When I had been repeatedly in her company, and was satisfied with her genuine piety, I addressed a plain letter to her.

"After some little hesitation and objection, raised only from the opposition my offer was like to meet with from a numerous family, I found I had firm ground upon which to advance. The opposition arose from my religion, and the idea that I was devoid of integrity, and an honest design. This idea no encomium in my favor could remove. Some little stratagem was used to prevent our union, but I went forward with a fixed determination to obtain my object, not doubting that time would produce a conviction which testimony could not, and that I should be a gainer in the end. Therefore on the 20th of April, 1779, we entered into wedlock. We had previously considered that our joint income, being about 55*l.* per annum, would not admit of our living in splendor, and we had laid our plan answerable to our pittance. By this we regulated our life, and experienced the blessing of the Lord upon it." p. 172.

Mr. Winter had often said, in the days of his itinerancy, that if ever he was settled, he would give to some poor child a common education. He now proceeded to execute his benevolent purpose; and this circumstance seems to have led to the reception of some other pupils, whose pious parents felt that their children had "caught the flame of piety from his lamp." One good mother, indeed, hearing that he was a methodist, and repelled by the plainness of the accommodations of his house, travelled back with her children to Bath, to the no small shock of Mr. Winter's shattered nerves; but the young gentlemen were brought back in a few weeks, with the lady's consent. Twelve scho-

lars now "enabled him to keep a cut loaf and a running tap for the poor:" and though his fatigue was considerable, his pleasure also was great, "when he could keep them to business, when he was witness to their progress, when their voices were engaged in the praises of God, and their innocent conversation at table gave vivacity to his spirits, particularly after the third public service of the Lord's-day." How exemplary does this man here appear! How benevolent his spirit, how fervent his piety, how great his diligence! How small his means, how far from eminent his talents, and yet, among the poor at least, how large his usefulness! "If sloth," says he, "in any department of life, be a blemish to a character, it must be a very dreadful one in that of a minister; but a minister may be free from the charge of sloth, and yet not perfectly busy. To spend the hours and days in composing a few sermons smooth and elegant to the ear, which should be employed in preaching many with energy to the heart, is a waste of time." We wonder at the increase of dissenters, and wish to penetrate into the causes of it. Here is one cause opened to our view,—namely, their religious zeal and diligence. Let the church ministers emulate them in this respect.

Of the young men trained to piety by Mr. Winter, one is spoken of as having gone to Oxford, with the view, as we presume, of entering into the church. He was a chief favourite, and excited great hopes; but he died. "Tu Marcellus eris." "He was my right hand," says Mr. Winter;—"but it was my duty to part with him." He went to Lingen in Westphalia, deeming it a place for more cheaply and completely finishing his education than our universities; but he was dissatisfied with the moral and religious state of the foreign seminary and the foreign university.

Of his pupil Mr. Jay, the editor of this work, he speaks thus:

"Several months previous to April, 1785, my eye was upon you, my dear friend, more immediately than upon any other in the congregation, and my heart knit unaccountably to you." "I told Mrs. Turner that I was impressed with an idea that I should one day have you under my roof. You having perfect understanding of all things from the very beginning, can trace the occurrences of this period respecting yourself. You recollect the number and the order of our family, and the worthy female friends which made part of it." "To all that was kind and amiable in you, my dear friend, under God, we were, in part, indebted for that happiness. You contributed your quota to it, and had your share in return.---O blessed villages which were favored with your (respective) ministerial abilities! O highly favored Marlborough, whose streets were then occasionally thronged with them who went to and from the house of God, and had their hearts filled with joy and gladness!" p. 186.

Mr. W. Griffin was another *élevé* of this affectionate master.

The vicissitudes, and indeed also the disappointments, in Mr. Winter's life, were so many, that we are reminded of that expression of Mr. Whitefield, "the world and the church ring changes." The dissenting church, as we suspect, is more subject to these than the episcopalian. The worthy man had now given up his school, and with it a measure of his substance. "I had devised," says he, "liberal things, but I could bring none of them to bear. The neighbourhood was reconciled to me, but not to my ministry. My chief success had been with the poor." Moreover, a failure had reduced to poverty one of the principal families who attended his preaching; another was rendered inimical by his interference to prevent what he deemed an injurious marriage; and a leading individual, who was proprietor of the chapel, and who had contributed ten of the thirty pounds stipulated to be his salary, took offence at something said in a sermon. In short, he retreated to Painswick, where he was known and beloved; though even here, he says, "strange to tell, a faithful hint misunderstood, and misapplied, by a ruling elder, had served to exclude me from the

pulpit for seventeen years." The same man, however, who had barred him out, became his friend, and lived with him in the strictest amity. At Painswick he renewed his diligence, and again received a small number of pupils.

"In the eleven years," says he, "which have revolved over me since I have been here, I have met with little in my pastoral connexion to disturb or afflict me. Family differences, personal prejudice, and some instances of immorality, have proved a source of affliction; but these and a few other proofs of human imperfections excepted, I am surrounded with a poor, simple, pious, affectionate people, who contribute willingly, though slenderly, according to their ability, to my subsistence: and for whom I will very gladly spend, and be spent.

"I have more reason to be thankful for, than to complain of the attention shewn to my ministry. Though death and incidents continually occur to produce changes in our congregation, it continues respectable for number. The inhabitants of the town have their strong prejudices against the system I hold myself bound to support; and the preaching of it out of the church, renders it additionally obnoxious. Yet they shew respect to my person. I am indeed in a station of mercy, which I have no disposition to exchange for another. I have my times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, in the congregation, in the family, and in the study. No one can conceive, after a third service on the Lord's day, my mind having been free in my work, and having had reason to conclude the word has been made a blessing, with what joy and tranquillity of mind I return to my mansion in miniature. It affords me all I want till I get where there are rivers of pleasure."

"I am within two months of entering my fifty-eighth year. Infirmities to which I never was intirely a stranger, press upon my constitution,"... "but the Lord has been my support, and having obtained help of him I continue unto this day—I am amidst all capable of relishing life, but"... "rather I would indulge a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, and would wait for his summons. Whenever it may please him to call me hence, I expect to meet with acceptance only in my Savior's righteousness. All my salvation is in him." "My deficiencies are many, but I would not indulge one of them." "Nothing that I have done, or that I can do, will afford me satisfaction. The whole is the effort of an imperfect and an impure creature, whom it becomes, in gratitude, to study to advance the glory of God, by whom he is made a monument of grace, by whose kind providence he has been supported and preserved, and who remembered him in his low estate.

"To God—the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, I commend you, my very dear friend. That he may be your God for ever and ever, and your guide through a very long life, even unto a late and easy death, and that your yoke fellow and offspring may abound in the blessings of Providence, in the exceeding riches of grace, and with you finally partake of eternal glory, is the prayer," &c. p. 204.

We have now finished our epitome of that part of the narrative which Mr. Winter has himself furnished. In the remaining nine years of his life, he appears, by Mr. Jay's account, to have pursued the even tenor of his way; having met, however, with one serious calamity, that of breaking his leg as he was returning by night from a visit to a sick woman; and having also been so far favoured by the will of a good old lady, as to obtain from her an addition of no less than one hundred and fifty pounds a year to his income. This lady had been a fellow orphan in the same family, and being a widow, had purposed to take up her residence in Mr. Winter's house. He seems to have made no alteration in his way of living after this event, but to have deemed himself bound to impart of the bounty which he had received, consecrating it to God, whom he considered as the giver. "I have a turn, nevertheless," said he, "for a little elegance, but I must be content with ordinary things and common decency." To see religion flourish round him was the great subject of his anxiety His own spiritual state was at the same time a point of deep concern with him. He observes: "Were I in the vigour of my days, inattention to the eternal state would be unallowable. How much more at threescore years and five? But with all the infirmities and imperfections of nature, not to say sins, I can truly say my desires are towards the Lord, and I would be on my constant look-

out for my great change." In another letter he says: "So trying I find the ministry, and so many trials have I with my people, that I have been tempted to give it up, but I dare not. 'Be thou faithful unto death,' is a peal in my ears." He was seized soon afterwards, when absent from home, with a bilious fever.

"On Friday one of his brethren, Mr. Bishop of Glocester visited him. When told that he was come, he lifted up his eyes and hands with surprise and pleasure. Mr. Bishop said to him, 'I hope sir that you are happy?' He replied, 'Yes.' His friend added 'It is but a short step from earth to heaven:' with a feeble but distinct voice he echoed, 'A short step:' and then added, 'I have sought the divine glory more than my own interest. I am closing life as I began it.' His eye-lids then fell---his voice ceased ---and death seemed rapidly approaching."

"A little before eight in the evening he said, 'Tell my good wife, I am going.' He then stretched himself out, laid his arms at length upon his body, and indistinctly said, 'Come Lord Jesus:' and without a groan, fell asleep." p. 241, 242.

His funeral sermon was from these words, being the character given in Scripture of Hananiah: "He was a faithful man, and feared God above many."

"Many who never heard him, came to bedew his grave. Persons of religious sentiments, widely different from his own, opened their houses to accommodate those who came from a distance. The rector, with a liberality of mind, and tenderness of heart, that did him honor, apologized for his inability to attend, as he expressed it 'The funeral of the ever to be lamented Mr. Winter.'" p. 244.

The following is a copy of the first part of his will:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Cornelius Winter, of Painswick, in the county of Glocester, minister of the gospel, being of sound disposing mind, memory, and understanding, thanks unto the Lord for the same, do make this my last will and testament, as follows; that is to say, I commit my soul into the hands of God, gratefully acknowledging his discriminating grace, of which he made me an early partaker, and by which I escaped many temporal and moral evils, and have had life sweetened, and the trials of it rendered supportable. Whenever it pleases him to call me, I would die in an humble, but firm, confidence in Jesus, as my Redeemer; renouncing all pretensions to merit, in any thing I have done, lamenting the imperfections of which I am conscious, and many which my understanding has not discovered, in hope of a blessed resurrection with his redeemed people, in the day when they shall be gathered together, &c." p. 246.

Mr. Jay has subjoined his own account of the character of his friend.

"His talents," he says, "were not first rate; but his apprehension was quick; his judgment accurate; his imagination, though not vigourous and bold, fertile and ready. No one could more nicely or instantaneously discriminate the defects or excellencies of a performance."—Surely the last sentence, at least, is too strong. Mr. Winter appears to us to have been a man of good, plain, common sense, without much exactness of taste, or critical acuteness. He seems to have had a happy, though rather incorrect, manner of expressing obvious but important truths, and of making known his own pious and affectionate feelings. *We* are obliged to judge of his talents chiefly by the letters inserted in this volume. We find in them considerable inaccuracies; and in those of them which are of a more early date, not unfrequent instances of false grammar; faults which seldom fail to produce a certain degree of obscurity. If his topics had been controversial; if he had handled metaphysical or philosophical points; if he had endeavoured even to expose the more subtile errors of the human mind, his style would have been found somewhat too incorrect and indeterminate for the discussion; and we doubt whether his mind would have been equal to the task. Happily he chose another course. In this volume at least, we find him narrating simple facts, expressing the feelings of an honest unsophisticated mind, and inculcating doctrines, the precise boundaries of which he does not attempt curiously to define. In thus speaking of his talents, we beg not to be understood

as questioning his judgment on common religious questions, or his general knowledge of the human heart. Accustomed from his youth to watch the emotions of his own breast, and to converse freely with his fellow-creatures respecting their spiritual concerns, he was an adept in his art. We have no objection to denominate him, in this sense, a doctor even of divinity.

"His head was silver'd o'er with age,
And long experience made him sage."

Respecting his qualifications as a tutor, some of Mr. Jay's observations are excellent. "In teaching the young," says he, "what is most requisite is not a vastness of talent, but a temper compounded of affection and patience—that inspires rather than commands."

"He was a father with his sons, rather than a tutor with his students. They were almost constantly with him; he was always familiarly instructing them; and the love he inspired was such as to endear every thing he said. Whether they were walking in the field, or sitting in the house; at the fire-side in the evening, or at the table at meals, improvement was blended with pleasure. Reading always attended the hours of breakfast and tea, intermingled with remarks derived from the subject. It was no unusual thing for one of his students to accompany him in his visits to the chamber of sickness, and the house of mourning: he knew that young men should be sober-minded; and that by the sadness of the countenance, the heart is made better. To prepare them for social and edifying intercourse, they also frequently attended him in his friendly visits. They occasionally joined him in his preaching excursions. There are few things in my life that I can remember with so much melting pleasure, as my going with him---walking by the side of his little horse, and now and then riding---on a fine summer's evening, into a neighbouring village, and returning again the same night, or very early in the morning. In these instances I was required to take sometimes a part, and sometimes the whole of the service; but it was a privilege rather than a task, to do any thing before him. He heard our discourses and prayers with the greatest tenderness, and beamed with pleasure at every presage of improvement. A backwardness to notice imperfections was his extreme; he loved to commend; it was hardly in his power to find fault." pp. 254—255.

The following observation is well worthy of notice.

"He was peculiarly attentive to the behaviour and manners of his young men. No person ever valued more than he did the moralities and proprieties of life---This is not always the case. Are there no instances of characters whose excellency has been obscured, and whose usefulness has been injured, perhaps ruined, by little levities, familiarities, indulgencies, and inconsistencies, which the severest casuist could not construe into positive crime?"

"He did not think it unnecessary to guard them against superfluous wants, and unseemly customs---against the sottish and offensive habit of smoaking; against giving trouble where they happened to lodge; against keeping up the family beyond their usual time of repose; against inexactness in keeping them waiting at meals; against the use of spirituous liquors; against fondness for delicacies. He did not think it needless to regulate their deportment towards servants, suggesting the propriety of noticing them, as well as the heads of the family in morning and evening devotion. It will be naturally concluded that he did not leave them uninstructed, in their relation to female society. He minutely specified the prudence that must guide them in the design of marriage; and taught them to maintain the sacred obligations arising from choice and engagement. Nothing offended him more than the versatility of some young preachers, who seem to think they have a right to trifle as they please with the affections and characters of those they address." pp. 270---271.

"As a minister," Mr. Jay remarks of him, that there was, "no sameness in his discourses." "The principles he taught were those which he originally received when he heard the gospel to purpose."

"Yet he did not preach these systematically and doctrinally, so much as in their experimental and practical bearings and results. He was most strictly evangelical, if that means to preach---that we are saved by grace, through faith and that not of ourselves; that Christ has once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust that he might bring us unto God; that in him we have righteousness and strength; that his sheep hear his voice, and shall never perish; that every moral duty is to be enforced by christian motives.

"But he would not separate principle from practice; he would not treat doctrines as naked, cold, angry propositions; he would not be always harping upon two or three favorite topics, and shun a large proportion of the gospel scheme; he would not confine his motion to a circle, like a blind horse going round in a mill, or feed like an ass tethered in a paddock; but went over the whole land of revelation in the length and breadth of it." pp. 273—274.

"He frequently preached without notes, but more generally he wrote a short skeleton; and sometimes, of late years, read his whole sermon." "He was singularly pre-eminent in the devotional part of his work;" "much of his devotional fluency arising from the state of his heart; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

Mr. Jay proceeds to speak of him no less highly as a private Christian; and here his self-denying economy, his large hospitality, and his habitual benevolence and condescension, are exceedingly conspicuous.

"How often," says he, "have I seen this matchless character, infirm and enervated to a great degree, after toiling all the day with his scholars and students, patiently and cheerfully devoting half an hour in the evening to the instruction of his maid-servant! These are scenes, indeed, which excite little notice or admiration now; but a day is coming, when it will appear, that to be truly great, is to be great in the sight of the Lord."

Mr. Jay supports his testimony, and illustrates his subject, by a variety of letters written by Mr. Winter. We regret exceedingly the production of those in which the deceased made his offer of marriage to the lady who became his wife. This, indeed, is a description of letter which we beg leave to suggest to all our friends, both male and female, the propriety of burning. And certainly Mr. Jay would have acted much more judiciously had he pursued this course in the present instance.

A very acute writer, who accounts for almost the whole philosophy of the human mind by the means of sympathy, has remarked, if we recollect right, on the incapacity of lovers to produce a sympathetic feeling in third parties, and has suggested, on this ground, the very kind of prudential caution which we are recommending. The critics have a cold way of treating these subjects, and the world in general is more disposed to laugh than to be edified, when an exposure of this kind takes place. But we forbear to say all that occurs to us on this point.

Some of the last letters in the volume are extremely interesting. The following quotations shew the amiableness, as well as moderation, of the writer: they indeed supply a general outline of his character.

"Spent part of the morning in canvassing Mr. Fletcher's manuscripts; but we could come to no agreement in sentiment. We parted in peace and love." ... "I am a dissenter upon principle, though but a young one, having given the preference to the establishment till within these two years. As I am honest to my convictions, so I am moderate in my conduct, presuming that neither system is so complete but they would both admit of an amendment." ... "When I profess myself a Calvinist, and tell you that I preach nothing repugnant to that scheme of divinity, you may suppose the grand and leading truths of the Gospel, in their turn, are sincerely though imperfectly preached by me: nor am I content to deliver them as a mere system. Their influences felt and experienced can only render them beneficial."

In a pastoral sort of letter to his flock, written during the confinement occasioned by his accident, he says:

"Be stated and regular in your attendance upon the word. In this latter duty three things are to be regarded; the information of the judgment, the raising the soul to a state of communion with God, and unimpeached morality." Again he says to them: "The morality I would largely inculcate extends to every relation and to every avocation of life." "Under the influence of grace, you will not withdraw from society nor insult it by moroseness. You will observe due decorum, be courteous towards all men." "I am more and more impressed with a conviction, that the ordinance of the sacred supper is neglected by many of you, who I am persuaded have a title to it, through him who receiveth sinners." "I hope our brethren, who consti-

tute an organized church in this place, will not make the door of admission narrower than that which is referred to in this language: 'Behold, I set before you an open door.'" Of himself he says: "My day is far spent; for want of falling early in life into proper hands, the hours are far gone beyond recal which should have been devoted to improvement; and there are many things, which it would be pleasing to be acquainted with, but of which, at my time of life, and in my situation, I must be content to be ignorant — at least to be very superficially acquainted with — especially as I have a young man to whose improvement I must attend."

We will add only one quotation more, which might serve as a motto to this whole history.

"Mine through life has been up-hill work; and the whisper in my ear has been, 'Do all things without murmuring.'"

We must now hasten to the conclusion of our paper; but a brief remark or two of our own are necessary.

And first; our readers doubtless will agree, that the fervent piety of Mr. Winter is established beyond all question. He certainly, to borrow the language of the text from which his funeral sermon was preached, was a man "who feared God above many:" and he added to his devotional spirit a no less remarkable benevolence. His religion was practical. "He visited the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and kept himself unspotted from the world."

We remark, secondly, that in doctrine he was a Calvinist. Calvinism, in the judgment of many moderns, is a compound of every thing hideous. Was Mr. Winter then unamiable? We think it our duty to take this occasion of imploring a little moderation and candour towards at least as many men of this class as are themselves candid and moderate. But, besides being a Calvinist, he was also something of a methodist; he partook of some of those errors which we noticed in Mr. Whitefield. His Diary, as Mr. Jay has himself observed, is a little too much after the common methodistical manner. He had also, as Mr. Jay very fairly though reluctantly admits, a slight tincture of enthusiasm*: yet, with all his faults, how exemplary was he!

But, on the other hand, we observe thirdly, that Mr. Winter was not a cold and speculative, not a high and bigoted Calvinist; not a methodist transported by the intemperance of his feelings, not one who despised human learning, nor a man regardless of the order and discipline of a church. The preceding narrative has shewn that he was the reverse of all this; and we are disposed to refer much of the excellency of both his preaching and practice to that very moderation, and to that zeal for morality, of which some may possibly complain. His preaching was not popular, as we conceive, with the violent of any class.

We have further to remark, that he was a dissenter. As such, he laboured, according to our judgment,

* The following are the remarks of Mr. Jay on this subject.

"I feel that I tread on delicate ground when I remark, that my dear and honoured friend frequently indulged a confidence arising from impression. There never was a man more free from enthusiasm, if we use that term as significant of an unwarrantable dependence upon God, or an expectation of the end without the use of means. He pressed duty in all its relations; he was sober-minded, cautious, and prudent: yet it is certain, that, in some of the most eventful circumstances of his life, his decision resulted very much at the time from a forcible impulse of mind, which he could not feel himself at liberty to resist, and which indeed was fully satisfactory to himself. It is equally certain, that in taking these steps he had no reason to repent; but was abundantly convinced, by the consequences, that they were of God. We must not limit the Holy One of Israel, nor yet be wise above what is written."

The coarseness and familiarity of Mr. Whitefield are generally avoided by Mr. Winter. We were sorry, however, to meet once or twice with expressions which carry to our ears the idea of an affection not sufficiently chastised by a mixture of respect and reverence for our blessed Saviour.

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In a pastoral sort of letter to his flock, written during the confinement occasioned by his accident, he says:

"Be stated and regular in your attendance upon the word. In this latter duty three things are to be regarded; the information of the judgment, the raising the soul to a state of communion with God, and unimpeached morality." Again he says to them: "The morality I would largely inculcate extends to every relation and to every avocation of life." "Under the influence of grace, you will not withdraw from society nor insult it by moroseness. You will observe due decorum, be courteous towards all men." "I am more and more impressed with a conviction, that the ordinance of the sacred supper is neglected by many of you, who I am persuaded have a title to it, through him who receiveth sinners." "I hope our brethren, who consti-

tute an organized church in this place, will not make the door of admission narrower than that which is referred to in this language: 'Behold, I set before you an open door.'" Of himself he says: "My day is far spent; for want of falling early in life into proper hands, the hours are far gone beyond recal which should have been devoted to improvement; and there are many things, which it would be pleasing to be acquainted with, but of which, at my time of life, and in my situation, I must be content to be ignorant — at least to be very superficially acquainted with — especially as I have a young man to whose improvement I must attend."

We will add only one quotation more, which might serve as a motto to this whole history.

"Mine through life has been up-hill work; and the whisper in my ear has been, 'Do all things without murmuring.'"

We must now hasten to the conclusion of our paper; but a brief remark or two of our own are necessary.

And first; our readers doubtless will agree, that the fervent piety of Mr. Winter is established beyond all question. He certainly, to borrow the language of the text from which his funeral sermon was preached, was a man "who feared God above many:" and he added to his devotional spirit a no less remarkable benevolence. His religion was practical. "He visited the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and kept himself unspotted from the world."

We remark, secondly, that in doctrine he was a Calvinist. Calvinism, in the judgment of many moderns, is a compound of every thing hideous. Was Mr. Winter then unamiable? We think it our duty to take this occasion of imploring a little moderation and candour towards at least as many men of this class as are themselves candid and moderate. But, besides being a Calvinist, he was also something of a methodist; he partook of some of those errors which we noticed in Mr. Whitefield. His Diary, as Mr. Jay has himself observed, is a little too much after the common methodistical manner. He had also, as Mr. Jay very fairly though reluctantly admits, a slight tincture of enthusiasm*: yet, with all his faults, how exemplary was he!

But, on the other hand, we observe thirdly, that Mr. Winter was not a cold and speculative, not a high and bigoted Calvinist; not a methodist transported by the intemperance of his feelings, not one who despised human learning, nor a man regardless of the order and discipline of a church. The preceding narrative has shewn that he was the reverse of all this; and we are disposed to refer much of the excellency of both his preaching and practice to that very moderation, and to that zeal for morality, of which some may possibly complain. His preaching was not popular, as we conceive, with the violent of any class.

We have further to remark, that he was a dissenter. As such, he laboured, according to our judgment,

* The following are the remarks of Mr. Jay on this subject.

"I feel that I tread on delicate ground when I remark, that my dear aad honoured friend frequently indulged a confidence arising from impression. There never was a man more free from enthusiasm, if we use that term as significant of an unwarrantable dependence upon God, or an expectation of the end without the use of means. He pressed duty in all its relations; he was sober-minded, cautious, and prudent: yet it is certain, that, in some of the most eventful circumstances of his life, his decision resulted very much at the time from a forcible impulse of mind, which he could not feel himself at liberty to resist, and which indeed was fully satisfactory to himself. It is equally certain, that in taking these steps he had no reason to repent; but was abundantly convinced, by the consequences, that they were of God. We must not limit the Holy One of Israel, nor yet be wise above what is written."

The coarseness and familiarity of Mr. Whitefield are generally avoided by Mr. Winter. We were sorry, however, to meet once or twice with expressions which carry to our ears the idea of an affection not sufficiently chastised by a mixture of respect and reverence for our blessed Saviour.

under considerable disadvantages. Nevertheless, without liberal education; without having either settled duty or regular income during a large portion of his life; dependent on his uneducated flock, or on the humour of a few rich individuals among them, he maintained a real independence of mind, and scorned to seek improvement in his circumstances by accommodating himself to the taste of his hearers. He pursued learning in spite of the prejudices of some of his pious followers, whom it was natural for him to wish to please. He laboured to introduce among them a disposition favourable to church order and discipline. Although he became a dissenter in principle (partly, perhaps, in consequence of his disappointment in respect to episcopal ordination), he did not therefore lift up his voice against the church. He lived on terms of kindness with the parochial minister; he was willing to train young men for episcopal ordination. His warfare was not against episcopacy: it was against vice and wickedness, against pride and selfishness, against hatred and variance, against hardness of heart and unbelief.

The only inference which we shall here stop to draw from all these circumstances, is one which has been anticipated in our review of the work of Mr. Ingram. Mr. Winter, as we then remarked, although the disciple of Whitefield, was removed some degrees from his master; and the doctrinal opinions of Mr. Jay, who receded somewhat further, appear to us remarkably scriptural and just. Both of them improved, as we think, on the religion of their predecessor, not merely by avoiding his faults and extravagances, but also by enlarging the circle of their divinity. The very errors of the father of methodism produced a zeal of this kind in some of his more respectable followers. Struck with the imperfection so plainly manifesting itself in many converts to methodism, and perceiving the scantiness of the religious knowledge of the more ordinary members of that body, they laboured to supply a remedy to the evils prevailing round them, and to make "the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished for every good work." Some of those who were the most zealous to effect this improvement found the charge of unsoundness occasionally brought against them; but the steady Calvinism of Mr. Winter secured in a great measure his reputation as an evangelical preacher, and the talents of Mr. Jay have enabled him to emancipate himself from the trammels of a party, and to attract congregations of men of every class, not excepting those whose faults he was eager to correct. Let us not forget, however, that to Whitefield we owe, in great part, the revival of evangelical doctrines; and that those even of his followers who too much limited their attention to those points, effected, especially at the first, no small degree of practical good. They were familiar with their favourite topics, and they made the most of them. They urged them in such a manner as to produce a considerable degree of religious strictness, although they overvalued the effect of their own labours, and produced a religion of which the practical part, as well as the doctrinal, was narrow and incomplete. We may apply to these men what Mr. Locke has said of an imperfect order of philosophers: "They canton out to themselves," said he, "a little Goshen in the intellectual world, where the light, as they think, clearly shines, and the day blesses them. They have a pretty traffick in their own creek, and they are dexterous managers of the products of that corner; but they will not venture out into the great ocean of knowledge, to survey the riches that other parts are stored with; but admire the plenty and sufficiency of their own spot, which contains, as they judge, all that is desirable in the universe." "There is yet much land to be possessed," is

the text of a very able sermon on Progress in Religion, preached and published by Mr. Jay, which is well calculated to correct the taste of men of this spirit, and to enlarge their sphere of vision; and the work of Mr. Jay now before us occasionally marks both his own zeal, and that of Mr. Winter, to promote this important improvement in the methodistical theology.

It is one part of the plan of the Christian Observer to co-operate in this attempt to extend the general horizon; to extend that both of the too formal churchman, and of the contracted methodist and dissenter; and it has appeared to us that the full exposition of the character of a dissenting teacher of approved virtue, of great industry, and of no inconsiderable usefulness; a disciple and successor of Whitefield, and an instructor of many dissenting ministers now occupied in evangelizing the middling and lower orders; a man, moreover, of a mind remarkably enlarged considering his circumstances; might conduce to this object, and might at the same time be the means of illustrating some points before treated of, and of connecting them with further discussions.

Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley.

(Concluded from p. 532.)

THE first part of these memoirs bears date "Birmingham, 1787," and concludes with a general recapitulation of the circumstances, favourable or unfavourable, which had befallen our author. He reflects with much gratitude on his happy temperament both of mind and body, subject to no disorders detrimental to his pursuits; tranquil in the presence of the greatest causes of uneasiness, which he habitually buried either in fate or sleep; composed even in the heat of controversy; scarcely irritated even when his writings were attacked; and never, as the editor adds, malicious, nor even sarcastic or indignant, "*unless provoked*." From an early period he had found reason to lament "a most humbling failure of recollection, so that he sometimes lost all ideas of both persons and things, that he had been conversant with." This we deem sufficiently curious to present our readers with the following instance of it in the doctor's words.

"When I was composing the dissertations which are prefixed to my Harmony of the Gospels, I had to ascertain something, which had been the subject of much discussion, relating to the Jewish passover, and for that purpose had to consult and compare several writers. This I accordingly did, and digested the result in the compass of a few paragraphs, which I wrote in short-hand. But having mislaid the paper, and my attention having been drawn off to other things, in the space of a fortnight I did the same thing over again, and should never have discovered that I had done it twice, if, after the second paper was transcribed for the press, I had not accidentally found the former, which I viewed with a degree of horror." pp. 106, 107.

For the comfort of all whom this anecdote may concern, we hear, in the same page, that by technical methods Dr. Priestley had nevertheless acquired a facility in the detention and arrangement of his thoughts, which frequently astonished inexperienced readers. And similar sufferers will be still more elated by his next observation, that "a want of sufficient coherence in the association of ideas formerly impressed, may arise from a mental constitution more favourable to new associations; so that what I have lost with respect to memory, may have been compensated by what is called invention," &c. p. 108.

Dr. Priestley confesses precipitancy to have been rather his fault than procrastination; "never doing that on the morrow that ought to have been done to-day," but sometimes blaming himself for having "done to-day what had better have been put off till to-morrow." p. 109. How difficult of attainment is the medium between these, as between all other extremes! The truth is,

these depend upon the mere action of material and constitutional causes; the course between them, on the calm and decisive exercise of reason.

To these Dr. Priestley superadds many other causes of thankfulness. Happy, in short, on all sides—in the rising hopes of his family; in the freedom of his studies, and particularly of his religious discussions; in the increase of his friends, and the decline of his enemies—it is no wonder that he now pleased and flattered himself with the hope (a hope common to the best of men) of finding at Birmingham 'a tranquil grave, beneath the' murky soil 'that he had often trod.' But, 'Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ.' The next date commencing the continuance of his memoirs announces him arrived at Northumberland in America, 1795. We shall not trouble our readers with the events that led to this change: indeed, we cannot say that Dr. Priestley has troubled his readers with any satisfactory reason for quitting his country. The riots which assailed him at Birmingham on the 14th of July 1791, the anniversary of the French revolution, sufficiently indeed accounted for his quarrel with that neighbourhood. And far be it from us, whatever offence might have been given to loyalty or the church by the ill-judged, perhaps inflammatory, pieces of Dr. Priestley, to advocate the cause of those riots; or not to concede to the doctor, that such a method of retaliation was as great a *practical* corruption of the forgiving religion of the Gospel, as any *doctrinal* departure from its tenets that he has laboured to establish. Such, in truth, was the popular clamour raised against Dr. Priestley on this occasion, that had he immediately left England, we should only have called it a just regard to his personal safety. For he tells us, that on removing to Hackney, his friends were under the necessity of taking his place in the mail, as well as a lodging on his arrival, in another name; else a removal and a habitation would have been equally unattainable by him. And on the following anniversary, when his name and place of abode had been discovered, the maid-servant at the next door had been removed, by order of her mother, with all her effects, lest she should be involved in the same ruin that was expected to fall on the head and house of the philosopher. His landlord, partaking in the same alarm, perhaps too having acquired some obscure notion of the returning shock in a thunder-storm from his scientific tenant, actually expressed apprehensions for the safety of a country-house he possessed twenty miles off. And as alarms, like other vapours, often mount upward, the steward of a certain charity, and a man of fortune, was so alarmed when the doctor had been appointed preacher in aid of the fund, that he never slept, from the moment he heard it, till Dr. Priestley, in consideration of his danger, declined the office. Nor were these alarms without cause, for such was the bigotry of the clergy in particular against our reformer, that he is enabled to relate, in a note, the following anecdote. "At a dinner of *all* the prebendaries of a cathedral church, a clergyman having said, that if I was mounted on a pile of my publications, he would set fire to them, and burn me alive, they all declared that they would be ready to do the same!" What physiologist but would excuse the alarms of his friends, when prebendaries—and at dinner—could hold such language!

A more substantial cause of complaint, if true, was laid at the assizes, when the damages awarded to Dr. Priestley fell two thousand pounds short of his losses; and we are happy that the generosity of private friends supplied the loss which an Englishman, "and uncondemned," was permitted to incur from "the effervescence of the public mind."

Irritation unfortunately remained when alarm had subsided. By de-

grees he seems to have lost all attachment to his countrymen, "except as a part of the human race." And neither his neighbourhood to the new college established at Hackney, nor his now tranquil walks with Mr. Belsham the theological professor, nor yet his comfortable tea parties and fire-side with Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey in the metropolis, nor, dearer than all, his controversy with Mr. Wakefield on public worship, and with Mr. Evanson on the Evangelists*, seem to have tranquillized his mind, or to have crossed his growing resolution to take the wings of the morning, and seek a climate and soil more genial to liberty. Accordingly, we find him at the date above mentioned just settling in America; and though till then he confessed to something like 'trinitarianism' in politics, yet on viewing the beauties of the federal system, he looked back on his countrymen with scorn and pity. "He had no hope of a gradual and peaceable reform; and yet, seeing the great body of the people, *like the negroes in the West Indies*, unprepared for the enjoyment of liberty in its fullest extent, and contemplating the evils necessarily attendant on a violent change, he dreaded a revolution."

His ideas of American liberty seem, it is true, to have expanded, ofter a while, into something like the over-rankness of the soil into which he had been transplanted. So much so, that after various publications on the subject (though here, as in England, he professed to have attended very little to politics) he received a friendly hint, that he had not been naturalized; and that a bill for the removal of aliens at an hour's notice had been carried by American freemen, not without some view to a certain philosopher in Northumberland.

Not quite so angry with America as with England, he chose to profit by the hint: and accordingly retreated from the ground of political controversy, and resumed his old and his favourite positions of unitarianism and phlogiston. On the latter he gave lectures during his occasional visits to Philadelphia; and both there and in Northumberland he promulgated unitarianism. What must have been his feelings (but we forget—he was a necessarian) in comparing the actual with the anticipated success of this new and rational religion; a religion which was to make an impression on Jews and Mahomedans, if ever learning and inquiry should revive amongst them, and was to carry an argument in its own favour home to the bosoms of "all the cool and truly sensible part of mankind,"—in short, after losing its "wretched outworks," was to rise from the ruins "a safe and impregnable fortress, against which the gates of hell should never prevail*."

Such was the magnificent prophecy: behold its fulfilment amongst the *enlightened* Americans. "All that he could do in that way [of establishing public worship on unitarian principles] was, for the two or three first years, either at his own or my house," says his son; "at which a few (perhaps a dozen) English persons were usually present; and in time, as their number increased, he made use of a schoolroom near his house, where from twenty to thirty regularly attended," &c. p. 191. And again:

"In the spring of 1797 he again spent two or three months in Philadelphia, and delivered a second set of discourses; but partly from the novelty of the thing being done away, partly from the political prejudice against himself, partly owing to the discourses not being so well adapted for a public audience, *though necessary to set the comparative excellence of Christianity in its true light*, they were but thinly attended in comparison of his former set. This induced him to give up the idea of preaching any more regular sets of discourses." p. 193, 194.

* We cannot help here being forcibly reminded, *pace* Dr. Priestley and his friends, of certain *other* witnesses deposing against a *great personage*; "but neither so did their witness agree together." Vid. Mark xiv. 59.

* Hist of Cor. Vol 2, p. 464.

Was it the prejudice of the most unprejudiced people in the world, according to Dr. Priestley's own confession, that neutralized the operation of those new and vital principles; or was it merely the impediment in his speech that disabled him from propounding them intelligibly? Did Dr. Priestley never distrust the principles themselves? Did his friends and admirers never suspect that something else is necessary beyond the bare plausibility of religious opinions (were that even obtained), to prove their truth; something besides the cool and self-dependent exercise of reason, to conceive, adopt, or convey the genuine doctrines of christianity?

With regard to Dr. Priestley himself, the account of his death, at which we at length arrive in 1804, furnishes us with a melancholy answer to these questions. Occupied with improvements in his apparatus, and dictating to the circle of friends which his talents did not fail to draw around him; revising his old theological works and projecting new; his last complaint seized him, early in that year. No evidence is to be obtained from the Memoirs continued by his son, and none, we think, will our readers have collected from our past delineation of his character, to make it probable that he changed any one of his opinions to the day of his death. Servatur ad imum, qualis ab incepto processerit. He died as he lived, wrapped in the self-complacent consciousness of rectitude, happy in the imaginary success of every scheme he had undertaken, resigned to the destined order of things, and hoping for a resurrection (almost the only hope he had gathered from the Gospel) that was to restore him to his faculties, and prepare him for a final consummation, in which he was to meet in peace the rest of his species.

The tranquillity of his death under these circumstances, we deem far from remarkable. What, indeed, else should we expect from a man who had reasoned himself off every ground on which compunction or contrition ever take their stand, and for years had resolved never to look inward on himself but with a smile? More than this we think it unnecessary to say upon the last events of Dr. Priestley's life; partly because we should feel ourselves repeating some former observations upon the same subject*; partly, too, because we think that the same causes which we propose to assign for the existence of his opinions, will sufficiently account for their stability and operation even in death.

In entering on this task, we desire as much as possible to divest ourselves of any unfair or captious disposition, and would not detract the smallest tittle from real merit. We should not be Englishmen, were we not to claim for Dr. Priestley a high rank in the annals of chemistry. For his attainments in this, as well as other branches of natural philosophy, he was indebted to a high degree of mental acuteness. He had unquestionably the power of penetrating deeper into a subject at first sight, than falls to the lot of most: and he possessed also an activity, not to say restlessness, of mind, that would suffer nothing to pass by without paying tribute to his curiosity. To pursue a train of reasoning, by the help of these intuitive powers, to a greater length, and with clearer views, than less favoured mortals, was obviously within his reach: and accordingly we sometimes, as in the passages before quoted, from his History, against Gibbon, find him reason well. He was endued with a quick sensibility, which gave him an ambition to secure the applauses of mankind; whilst a high independence of mind (which perhaps he mistook for sincerity) made him spurn at every appearance of self-interest, and avoid all voluntary submission to, what he thought, the weakness or prejudices of others.

* Vol. for 1804, p. 252.

Where then, to redeem our pledge with the reader, are we to search for those hidden causes of the extravagance and obliquity which to us appear the characteristics of Dr. Priestley's mind; leading him, in the first instance, into opinions on all subjects different from the rest of mankind, and then into sentiments of asperity or disgust toward almost all mankind for differing from himself?

The first and leading cause, we think, is to be found in his education. This appears to us in every respect the reverse of all that prudence would have suggested for such a mind. Early and unfortunately deprived of a sensible mother, oftentimes the only, always the best, moral instructor of our youthful years, we have seen the young philosopher committed to the custody of an old, gossipping, affectionate aunt. At her house he was assailed with every variety of religious opinion, as we have also seen, from every species of religious teacher, whether orthodox or heterodox, established or dissenting. His eager instructors, charmed by an appearance of quickness in their pupil, taught him to give opinions long before he was capable of forming them: and the disputes he witnessed, perhaps shared, soon made him place religion in the tongue, or in the understanding, rather than in the heart. Thus schooled—that is, taught, in modern language, to *think for himself*—he was at length presented, as a condition of church communion, with a creed, to say no more of it, requiring the deepest humility in its professors, and the greatest surrender of mere human and unassisted reason. Such are the higher doctrines of what is usually called the strict Calvinistic system. And it is not to be wondered at, that a peremptory demand on the youthful dictator to believe "that the sin of Adam alone was sufficient to damn all his posterity," should call forth the resistance that it did. But, without entering at all into the truth or falsehood of this or any other parallel hypothesis, mark now the consequence of making it a *fundamental* article. This once rejected, the mind is formed to the habit of rejecting supposed fundamentals: and then what further is to deter it, especially when framed like the one we have described, from proceeding to illimitable lengths? From the doctrine of the original imputation of Adam's sin, it will proceed on, with the same bold step, to that of Christ's atonement: from a peculiar mode of believing in the Trinity, it will gather strength to impugn the Trinity itself. And thus enlarging the fundamentals of religion will produce an effect as pernicious as would have resulted from placing the Rubicon beyond the bounds of the empire: in which case the empire itself would have been attacked with the same fearlessness as the intermediate and debateable ground.

We cannot think that matters proceeded more auspiciously with the young philosopher than they began. His passage from the school to the academy, was but from one debating club to a higher. Our readers, no doubt, have already smiled at the wonderful facilities afforded for the acquisition of truth to the youthful students at Warrington. Tutor and sub-tutor, pupil and sub-pupil, all together by the ears on the gravest subjects of controversy, and bandying with cool *unprejudiced* minds truths which had received the sanction of ages, and which involved eternal interests, might afford a specimen of education most truly ludicrous, were it not for the melancholy anticipation of its consequences. We are no advocates for blindly imposing the faith of our forefathers on their children, without at the same time giving them "a reason of the hope that is in them," or without ultimately leaving them, when capable, to judge for themselves. But we are stern advocates for the cultivation of modesty, as the first principle of all excellence in the youthful mind.

We are sorry to see debaters at fourteen and reformers at twenty: a Calvinist at twelve, becoming an Arminian at eighteen, at twenty-one an Arian, at twenty-four a denier of his Saviour and a disbeliever in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Miserable infatuation! to set the stripling on a sea, of which he knows neither the soundings nor the shore; and calmly to see him rush to every point of the compass, before he he knows the bearing of any!

The next reason we have to mention for Dr. Priestley's irregularities comes but too naturally in order after the preceding; we mean, the multiplicity of his pursuits. This philosopher had attended sufficiently to the phenomena of his own mind, to discover in it the weakness of memory we before mentioned. And the deduction he made from this observation was quite in conformity to the well-knowa lines of Pope:

"Thus in the soul while memory prevails,
The solid power of understanding fails:
Where beams of warm imagination play,
The memory's soft figures melt away."

But we can never believe that Dr. Priestley glanced at the two succeeding lines, which perhaps were never more fully exemplified than in his own experience:

"One science only will one genius fit,
So vast is art, so narrow human wit."

The truth we apprehend to be, if a few moments may be allowed us on this important subject, that human intellect is divided into two great classes,—a talent for discovery, and a talent for the acquisition of knowledge. In the latter class, instances are to be found, within the observation of most persons, where the elastic powers of the mind have exceeded all belief; so much so as in some cases to have procured for them, and almost justly, the appellation of "walking Encyclopedias." But a talent for discovery (which, indeed, we cannot help rating highest in the order of intellect) is of a different kind. Here the poet's last remark is strictly applicable: and seldom indeed have we seen a grand proficiency made in any one department of discovery, but by men wholly absorbed in that pursuit, and almost as to other fields of science "toto divisos orbe." The difference between the two classes may be compared to that between a traveller, who passes over and accumulates in his memory the curiosities of a thousand countries; and a monarch, who commands and lays under contribution the entire resources of one. If occasionally the two characters be combined; if a mighty conqueror stride over, and at the same time subject to his dominion, a continent or a planet; if in the intellectual world there be found an Aristotle or a Bacon, as in the political a Cyrus or an Alexander; in either case the exception scarcely weakens the rule: nature ordains these instances rather to excite humility than emulation; and the imitation of such characters bears with it, for the most part, disappointment to the invidual, if not mischief to his species.

Here, then, we discover the error of Dr. Priestley. He was unquestionably born, if indeed to a subordinate rank, yet still in the class of discoverers. His turn as well as his ambition, on all subjects, was clearly rather to originate than adopt a creed. But this very disposition should have found out its own proper course. And when either his fate or his stars made him acquainted with the brewer at Leeds, or with Dr. Franklin in London, his sagacity should at once have prompted to him the condition on which deep discoveries are to be made. He should have felt the necessity of making a choice between his histories and fathers, and his crucibles and conductors: and instead of vainly attempting in his own person to amalgamate Lardner and Lavoisier—an attempt which ended in offering to the world his crude theories of Unitarianism and Phlogiston—he should have satisfied himself with private conjectures on one of these subjects,

and blessed the public with a rational, well-digested, and systematic exposition of his thoughts upon the other. These two, indeed, the reader of the Memoirs will find but imperfectly represent the strange and heterogeneous mass of Dr. Priestley's pursuits. His feverish mind, tossing ever from side to side, from philosophy to philology, from physics to metaphysics, from religion to politics, never seemed to find repose in any. Lectures and systems were to him no more, than to a poet epigrams and sonnets. His biographers and panegyrists, seemingly caught in the same whirl, and wholly unconscious of its effects, are forward, as we have seen, to swell the catalogue with miscellaneous reading of every description, even down to novels and plays. Two or three hours a day are besides consigned to games of amusement; and the whole of every afternoon either to company, or clubs, or walking, or music! What a contrast with the painful labours of a Newton, the calm investigations of a Locke, the sanctified retirement of a Hooker!

The third defect to which we beg leave to call the reader's attention in Dr. Priestley's mind, is of a moral cast. It is that of entire ignorance of himself, considered as a subject of morality. That Dr. Priestley accustomed himself to a kind of self-examination, appears indeed frequently in these memoirs: that he had considered his natural constitution, bodily temperament, and even mental powers, we think admits of no doubt. But, then, we think it equally clear that he went no further. His mind he seems to have contemplated as he would a machine capable of certain movements called memory or ratiocination; and its strength or weakness he would measure much in the same way as if it were a part of the muscular system. But we can never imagine that he was at all acquainted with his mind considered as capable of certain actions called virtue or vice; as something within his breast empowered to originate ideas, which shall exalt or degrade the moral character; as something, in short, able to controul the passions, soften the temper, direct the feelings, and, by a different use of the same mental powers, assimilate their possessor to God, or to the spirit of darkness. We know not whether our readers will think this remark too refined or hypothetical; but to us there appears the greatest possible difference between an acquaintance with the moral and the physical powers of the mind. And Dr. Priestley seems to us to have very little attended to the former; or if he reflected at all, in the most singular manner to have thought it as much belonging to the mind to follow its first moral tendencies or impressions, as to the legs to obey an impulse to walk, or to the eyes to receive an object of vision. This assumption respecting Dr. Priestley's mind, which at least we contend the most diligent reader of these memoirs will not be able to controvert, affords a solution to many of the appearances for which we wish to account. In the first place, we see a strong connection (whether of cause or effect, or of both) between this state of mind and the hypotheses of materialism and philosophical necessity, which we have seen our author so early and so constantly defend. The best answer, doubtless, to both these degrading and petrifying systems, is found in the mind's reflection on its own agency. For if mind be really matter---some indefinite portion of the brain vibrating to exterior impressions, though to call this *thought* is very unintelligible, yet to call it *independent agency* is a flat contradiction. A principal law of matter is, motion in proportion to the force employed, and in the direction in which the force acts. If, therefore, I am capable of beginning a train of thought, and of changing its direction at will, without the impression of external force (and what arguments will persuade a man of real self-reflection that he

is not?), I am then sure my mind is possessed of properties contradictory to those of matter, and therefore is not matter. Dr. Priestley, it is true, thought otherwise; and he believed also in philosophical necessity. But if, instead of abandoning himself to the drowsy assurance that his mind was the mere puppet of fate, he had here also been convinced, by sound reflection, that God had made him capable of affecting at will every motion of his thoughts, and commanding, under Him, and in a measure, the circumstances of his life; though he might have been less tranquil, in the delusion that every thing *must be* right with him, he might have been more blessed in the reality of its *being* so; he might have lived and died conscious of the true dignity of his nature; and might have told the abettors of necessity, that the freedom of the will could only not be proved against them (if such *were* indeed the case) because it is an intuitive proposition.

But we go further, and attribute to this same self-ignorance many of Dr. Priestley's theological errors, more particularly those which concern the atonement and divinity of Jesus Christ. Without entering at large on this head, we need only observe, somewhat as before, that the best defence of both these doctrines is to be found in a man's reflection on his own guilt and moral inability. Man, from the moment he truly and deeply reflects on his own moral state, finds himself alienated from God, and therefore subject to his wrath; in nature wicked, and in himself weak and incurable. What can he then do in such a state, but hope at least for some atonement for his sins, some assistance to his frailty, some mediation between God and his soul? And if a hope, then assuredly a willingness to believe in such promises, if actually appearing in Holy Scripture, will follow these convictions, on the very ground of the fitness, or rather necessity, that will be felt of such a scheme. And further, if promised at all, a mind possessed in the manner here described will never expect the accomplishment of that scheme by a creature framed and descended merely like ourselves, but, on the contrary, will see far less absurdity in attributing the salvation of mankind to a divine person, than to one inheriting and sharing their very ruin. And so, by a beautiful yet simple train of reasoning, the grand doctrines of the ever-blessed Gospel may be deduced from the existence, joined to the consciousness, of those very evils which it was designed to cure. But not having that consciousness, Dr. Priestley (and we now speak of him as one in a multitude) seems to have been left without any guide to the conclusions to which it leads. Convinced neither of his immorality nor imbecility, he never viewed the remedies held out to them but as dry speculative principles. His own wisdom and virtue seemed stock enough to carry him through life, through death, through eternity. To his teacher he did not find it necessary to attribute much beyond his own ideal excellence. And little apprehensive of the consequences to which a nature fallible and peccable had exposed himself, he made no scruple of attributing fallibility even to an apostle, and *natural peccability* to a Saviour.

We are obliged to mention one more fact, which we think can be attributed to no other source than that above mentioned—viz. the actual and astonishing ignorance displayed by Dr. Priestley of what his moral attainments really were. It would be difficult to collect, from any hint in these Memoirs, that their author was conscious of a single moral defect. Good-tempered, easy, and affable; sincere, and undisguised; devoted to the christian ministry as his fondest pursuit; tranquil by nature, and through philosophy insensible under the greatest injuries and insults; without heat in controversy, or party in politics; a lover of truth far more than of victory, of usefulness infinitely

above fame; who is there that recognizes, under these self-flattering insinuations, the actual, well-known features of this philosopher? A man charged by those by whom he was best known, with more than Cynical asperity; an adviser of duplicity, which his follower Mr. Lindsey was yet too honest to adopt; contentedly stealing six days for experiments, from the seven that he had devoted to ministerial duties—nay, quietly resigning all, for a place in Lord Shelburne's establishment; notoriously changing every question into a controversy, and almost every controversy into a quarrel; making assertions at a venture, and using arguments to which it is impossible to conceive his own mind to have affixed any force at all; turbulent in the extreme in politics, though, according to his own confession, without much consideration; and, finally, alienated from his country by a spirit of revenge which even a Roman could disown: why is such the character, after all his boasts, with which truth obliges us to associate the name of Priestley? And if it be just, what cause are we to assign for the strange contrast between the two portraits, but the miserable neglect of that great duty which alone would have revealed the man to himself?

The last apparent cause, which we must shortly assign, for Dr. Priestley's irregularities of mind, is not, we are conscious, to be touched without diffidence and awe. In assigning a general spirit of indevotion and self-dependence as this cause, we are indeed penning a charge on which the word of God has ere now passed an infallible sentence. Nor do we mean, indeed, to assert that Dr. Priestley never prayed, since we have a hint or two in his book to the contrary, or that general expressions of gratitude to God are not occasionally to be met with in these memoirs; but we are sorry to argue much, and unfavourably, from the want of *prominence* given to these sentiments through the work. We are by no means fashionable enough to call it, with many, the best proof of our religion entirely to omit the profession of it: nor can we at all think it possible, especially in Dr. Priestley's memoirs of himself, that the governing principle, the ruling temper of his mind, should have scarcely been perceptible even in the slightest degree. But, we may ask again, without such a singleness, we might say totality of heart in religion, what is this principle likely to avail, either in conferring sobriety and weight on our opinions, or obtaining for them the blessing and sanction of the Almighty? Such at least is the frame of mind, such the habits of religion, which we have been usually taught to admire, especially in those who have undertaken to improve mankind. Examples of this kind are not difficult to meet with. If the prejudices of antiquity, or of an establishment, destroy the weight of any thence derived, let the admirers of Dr. Priestley refer to such an example, in modern days, as the great, the disinterested Dr. Doddridge. We are indebted to Mr. Orton for such a portrait of that splendid exemplar of Christianity, as we cannot but hail with joy. In him we find, indeed, all that we in vain desire in Dr. Priestley. His was a life of communion with his God, and of entire dependence on heavenly direction. For that, he prayed, and fasted, and watched. For that, he spent his hours of retirement, and broke his seasons of repose. Every plan, every opinion that he changed, was first laid open at a throne of grace; and days were appropriated to the work of holy meditations and addresses. He made God his counseller, his bosom friend; and his life was but one continued illustration of the solemn admonition, "Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not to thine own understanding: in all thy ways acknowledge him, and he will direct thy paths." Such an exhibition of character entitles a man to universal respect—we might even say, with humility, to the divine blessing.

And if the question lies between such a man and Dr. Priestley, which are we naturally disposed first to suspect of rashness and obliquity? We are not willing to say more on this head: and our limits imperiously preclude all further remark. We shall therefore only conclude by observing, that the reader of Dr. Priestley's life will be amused by the Continuation of it, and the Appendix subjoined; the one by his son, the other by Mr. Cooper, an American;---the latter more particularly, who gives a pretty full account of Dr. Priestley's works, and exhibits a character, not easily to be surpassed even in America itself, of the most profound assurance seasoned by the most vulgar flippancy. The subjoined specimen of these qualities shall conclude our review.

"Indeed, the question must now be considered as decided. For those who can resist Collins's Philosophical Inquiry into *Necessity*, the section of Dr. Hartley on the mechanism of the mind, and the review taken by Dr. Priestley and his opponents on the subject, are not to be reasoned with. 'Interest reipublicæ ut denique sit finis litium,' is a maxim of technical law: it will appear equally so in the republic of letters: and the time seems now to have arrived, when the separate existence of the soul, the freedom of the will, the eternal duration of future punishment, like the doctrines of the Trinity and transubstantiation, may be regarded as no longer entitled to public discussion!!!" p. 335.

"Tum Velleius fidenter sanè, ut solent *isti*, nihil tam verens, quam ne dubitare aliquâ de re videretur; tanquam modo ex Deorum conciliis, vel ex Epicurii intermundiis descendisset....."

REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

In the "View of Public Affairs" given in your number for July you have inserted a note, in which you very severely censure the Edinburgh Review for a mistatement of the evidence given in parliament on the subject of the late orders in council. You appear to me to have been yourself guilty of two errors, in your correction of that mistatement.

First, you have erred in representing the following words, on which you principally ground your censure, to be a quotation from the Edinburgh Review—viz. that "the rate of insurance, on *vessels trading from this country to the continent*, did not experience the least advance in consequence of the Berlin decree," &c. The words of the Reviewer are: that "the rate of insurance *on such voyages*" (namely, *voyages* from this country to the continent) "did not experience the least advance," &c. The difference between these two expressions may seem unimportant to a person unacquainted with this controversy; I nevertheless venture to remark, that it is far from trifling, and that a nice attention to this distinction will account for a large part of what you consider to be a mistatement. The Edinburgh Reviewer affirms that the evidence had proved that there was no rise of insurance on *voyages*, in consequence of the Berlin decree: you make him say, that the evidence had proved that there was no rise of insurance on *ships*, in consequence of that decree. Now, sir, the truth is, (not, as I grant, that there was *no* rise of insurance on *voyages* in consequence of the Berlin decree, but) that there was only a *very small* rise on insurance on *voyages*, and that there was a *large* rise on insurance on *ships*, as you yourself justly affirm. This large rise of insurance on ships arose from the new danger of the capture of ships when in port. This capture of neutral

ships *in port*, is a species of capture which, in the judgment of the opponents of the orders in council, and I believe also of many supporters of the measure, was perfectly consistent with the law of nations; but the capture of neutral ships *on their voyage*, was certainly not consistent with it. As you have exchanged the word voyages, used by the Edinburgh Review, for the word ships, and have placed it within inverted commas, it appears to me to be a piece of necessary justice to correct your own error.

I am aware that you may argue, that this mistake of yours does not materially alter the nature of the argument respecting the expediency of the orders of council; since the increased obstacles thrown in the way of the neutral trade, antecedently to the orders in council, were a ground for issuing the orders, whether those obstacles arose from French captures at sea or from French captures in port. This may be true. I will admit, for the sake of argument, that it is true. Nevertheless, in that view of the matter which you were taking the difference is great. I mean, that it is great in so far as the veracity of the Edinburgh Reviewer is in question: for if voyages is allowed to be the word, he has not made that "*gross and palpable mistatement*" with which you have charged him. He has affirmed that certain evidence before parliament, of which he speaks, shewed that no rise of insurance had taken place on voyages; and even Mr. Dewar's evidence, which you quote, with a view, as it would seem, of proving him guilty of a most gross mistatement, does not disprove the fact which he had affirmed, since Mr. Dewar, in the rise of from six to thirty *per cent.* of which he speaks, includes insurance against risk in port, which I apprehend to be nine-tenths of the increase.

The other error into which you have fallen is the following. You have represented the Edinburgh Reviewer as affirming, that the *whole* of the evidence given before parliament, taken together, had shewn that there was no increase of risk on neutral ships trading to the continent, antecedently to the orders in council; whereas the Reviewer speaks, and has plainly advertised you that he speaks, only of that part of the evidence which had been given antecedently to the speech of Mr. Brougham, which is the subject of review. After that speech was made, parliament called for further evidence; and it is by adducing a part of this further evidence that you endeavour to shew him to be guilty of gross mistatement.

I am aware that upon this point it may be replied: "True, the evidence which we have quoted in order to convict him of mistatement is not the evidence which he professed to be stating. We acknowledge our error. This evidence, as we now discover, did not perhaps exist at the time when the Reviewer wrote his article; but it existed before that number of the Edinburgh Review, in which the article in question was contained, was put into circulation; and the Reviewer, therefore, ought to have desired the Editor to alter his statement." I agree with you, that such conduct would have been honourable. I cannot, however, consent to let the charge of gross and palpable mistatement remain, when the charge ought rather, according to this view of the subject, to have been, the charge of wanting a sufficient degree of zeal to detect errors sanctioned by evidence at the time of writing the article.

That I have not erred in representing the Edinburgh Reviewer as deducing the fact which he affirms, only from evidence given up to a certain time, will clearly appear from the following words, which almost succeed those in which he speaks of insurances: "Although," says he, "the chancellor of the exchequer has announced his intention to call witnesses to contradict some parts of this evidence"—(Mr. Dewar

was one of those subsequent witnesses)—"we refer to it" (that is, to the evidence, already taken, of the petitioners against the orders of council; evidence which I conceive the Edinburgh Reviewer not to have at all mistated) "with the most perfect confidence of its accuracy, not only from," &c. &c.

I cannot help regretting that the Christian Observer has travelled into this minute discussion, and especially that it should have charged a political error on a work so much more open to censure on religious grounds. Not doubting that your love of truth and candour will prevail over every other consideration, I submit this letter for insertion in your next number.

August, 1808. VINDEX.

We have inserted this letter, because it would be wrong to act as judges in our own cause, by rejecting, as clearly groundless, an arraignment of our own verity and candour, especially when we are accused of having violated those duties in a like inculpation of others.

Our charge against the Edinburgh Reviewers was certainly a very serious one, and if convinced that it was in any degree unfounded, we should hasten to do them justice; but as our correspondent has offered a defence for them which appears to us invalid, we can only submit it, with some observations in reply, to the impartial judgment of our readers.

We are accused of misquotation. We therefore give, in the first place, the passage in the Edinburgh Review which was the subject of our strictures, with its context at large.

"If any doubts, however, could still remain as to the fact of the non-execution of the Berlin decree, they must be effectually removed by the evidence laid before the houses of parliament on the London and Liverpool petitions, and detailed with the most admirable clearness and force in the speech of Mr. Brougham now before us. From that evidence it appears, first, that neutral vessels were publicly and regularly chartered on voyages from this country to the continent of Europe, after the Berlin decree, in the same manner as before; and that there was no interruption in their trade up to the date of our orders in council: secondly, that the prices of articles of our colonial produce and home manufacture continued the same in the continental markets, after the Berlin decree, and down to the date of our orders in council: thirdly, that gentlemen concerned in this trade, to an extent that raised their foreign postages to near 700*l.* in a year, never heard of a single instance of a neutral vessel being condemned in the hostile ports for being engaged in it: and, fourthly, that the rate of insurance on such voyages did not experience the least advance, in consequence of the Berlin decree, but remained precisely at the same point where it had formerly stood, till our orders in council raised it so high as to put an end to the trade altogether. Although the chancellor of the exchequer has announced his intention to call witnesses to contradict some parts of this evidence, we refer to it with the most perfect confidence in its accuracy,—not only from the unquestionable respectability of the individuals by whom it was given, but from its exact conformity with public documents and notorious facts —and from this circumstance, that the persons who give this testimony from their own experience, have, together with sir Francis Baring, whose son has corroborated their whole statements, almost the sole management of that great trade, to the history of which these statements belong.

"It is clearly and indisputably made out, therefore, that the preamble of our orders in council, which contains their only justification, is erroneous and fallacious in all points; and that the Berlin decree, whose rigorous enforce-

ment and unresisted execution they are meant to retaliate, neither was enforced nor submitted to until it was seconded and superseded by those effective and most injurious proclamations. We are chargeable, therefore, with the whole of the injustice and oppression which we have been accustomed to charge against the enemy; and are answerable, primarily and *alone*, for the unprecedented measure of putting a whole quarter of the world in a state of blockade by a few pages of writing; and interdicting the commerce of neutrals with a whole continent, which we have neither invested, nor set a watch upon." Edin. Rev. No. xxiii. p. 233, 234.

Here our readers will perceive that the controversy involves moral imputations far more important than those which we have to maintain or repel. The question is not merely whether truth has been violated in the Edinburgh Review or in the Christian Observer, but whether the reputation of a country whose character is most precious to us, whether the honour of our native land, has been tarnished by gross falsehood and imposture in the solemn acts of its government. Nor is this all; the consequence of such an imputation, if true, is fairly in some measure, if not decently, drawn by the Reviewers; and, as far as respects the present conduct of the maritime war, we are justly chargeable with much, though not "the whole, of the injustice and oppression" which we impute to France.

We cannot therefore admit to our correspondent, that the present is "a minute discussion," or that it is, as he seems to conceive, foreign to the plan of our miscellany. In addition to the common duty of vindicating the injured character of our country, which when the aspersion is cast by brother reviewers belongs most appropriately to the censorial department of our work, we owe a refutation of such calumnies to the religious feelings of our readers. We ought not to suffer them to be shocked by false apprehensions of national guilt, or alarmed by imaginary provocations of the Divine displeasure.

We grant that the same Review presents to us too copious a field of animadversion on subjects of far higher importance than national politics, or even than the moral character of our country. The grave irony of Gibbon, and the sarcasm of Voltaire, are become at length weapons of too distant and oblique annoyance to satisfy the eagerness of these new combatants in the field of infidelity. They have drawn the sword of direct and close hostility against Religion; though, with the usual policy of her enemies, they try to divide her more zealous from her more moderate friends, by attacking first the one, while they bear the ensigns of the other.

Of all this we are no inobservant beholders; and shall not desert our duty, by leaving it unexposed. But we may perhaps do no mean service to the sacred cause in which we are engaged, by exhibiting, with the religion of this popular review, some specimens of its politics and its morals.

Having thus justified the propriety and importance of our present task, we proceed to perform it.

And, first, let it be observed, that the defence offered by our correspondent embraces but a small part of the charge. We affirmed of three propositions contained in the above extract, that "they were gross and palpable mistatements;" and might, as we shall presently shew, have truly affirmed the same of a fourth. But it is to one of them only, that which relates to insurances, that the defence at all applies.

Now, if we should suppose for a moment that our correspondent had succeeded in his attempt to rescue that particular proposition from the imputation of falsehood, in what degree would the credit of the reviewers be redeemed? Before we proceed to consider what is disputed

let us briefly examine what is undenied by this defence, and clear beyond dispute in point of fact.

The first proposition of the Reviewers is, "that neutral vessels were publicly and regularly chartered, on voyages from this country to the continent of Europe, after the Berlin decree, in the same manner as before, *and that there was no interruption in their trade up to the date of the orders in council.*" This the Review affirms to appear from the evidence laid before parliament on the part of the petitioners, and to be "*in exact conformity with public documents and notorious facts.*"

It is alleged to be true then, and to have been in evidence. But we absolutely deny both; and the defence does not attempt to support either of these assertions.

What may be more satisfactory to some of our readers; another quarterly number of the Edinburgh Review has appeared, in which the editors had ample time, either to support the veracity of their work or to retract their errors; but they have done neither the one nor the other.

In one of their propositions it was very easy to support themselves, if the fact was on their side. If they could not produce their "*public documents,*" or the proof of their "*notorious facts*" confirmatory of the parliamentary evidence, at least they might have appealed to that evidence itself, which is printed and in the possession of hundreds, and cited the passages in it that bear them out in those extraordinary statements.

But no such self-defensive expedient was in their power; for we can assure our readers, that there is not a single passage in that evidence, relative to the trade from this country to the continent, that can in any degree justify or excuse the proposition now under consideration, or, indeed, any one of the other propositions of fact contained in the extract here given (which, though enumerated there as four, are obviously more numerous), except perhaps those which compose the second *.

And here we are willing to give the Reviewers the benefit of that favourable surmise, for which our correspondent contends (though we think it in the highest degree improbable), by supposing that they had seen the evidence on one side only, when they wrote the review in question. We challenge them and their apologist to point out the evidence on the part even of the petitioners, which justifies or excuses the assertions contained in the first, third, and fourth proposition, or any of them; or their general and leading assertion, *that the Berlin decree was not executed prior to our orders in council.* We aver, that no such evidence can be found †.

* For the sake of accuracy in referring to the numbers of these propositions, it is proper to remark, that in our former strictures we did not follow the enumeration, or exactly the terms, of the Edinburgh Review, but stated the general effect of the first and fourth only, which formed our second and third. Our first was the general proposition with which the Review sets out, and which all the rest seem designed to support; viz. that the Berlin decree had not been executed prior to our orders in council.

† There was much apparent management on the part of the petitioners in parliament, to prevent any discovery, on that side, of the incontestable fact, that our export trade with countries on the continent wherein the Berlin decree had been promulged or adopted, was wholly at a stand, by the operation of that decree, long prior to the 11th of November 1807, the date of our orders in council. They called witnesses only who had no connection with, and no direct knowledge of, our European commerce; the effect of the Berlin decree on which constituted, in truth, almost the whole detriment we received, or could receive, from it. But these gentlemen were extremely well qualified to state, at the utmost extent, our direct commerce with America, upon which the enemy, from the want of naval force, could make little impression; and the trade between America and the continent, to which, when not connected with this country, by ships calling

The Reviewers, in another view, would not profit by the advantage which we thus concede.

They speak of respectable witnesses, who "*from their own experience*" testified to the facts they allege in regard to the trade from this country to the continent; and among them they reckon the son of sir Francis Baring. But we have already denied that any such facts were testified, and we now deny that any witness, who could speak of that trade "from his own experience," was examined on the part of the petitioners. We appeal to the testimony of the gentlemen alluded to, in proof that they had no

here or otherwise, the Berlin decree did not apply.

Obviously irrelevant though the latter subject was to the points in dispute, much of the evidence of the petitioners was directed to the display of the magnitude of that foreign trade, which, of course, was not interrupted by the French decrees, and therefore flourished, at the expense of our manufacturers and planters, till our orders in council put a stop to it: and the witnesses sometimes loosely spoke of it as if it were English trade, on account merely of the intervention of English merchants in paying and receiving bills of exchange remitted to or from the continent in the course of such commerce, as agents of foreign houses. But on their examination, by members of the house who supported the orders in council, it appeared, that they spoke only of foreign trade, and not at all of British exports to or imports from the continent, the real subjects of controversy.

We will adduce, as an instance, the evidence of Mr. Glennie, a highly respectable witness, of whose testimony the petitioners chiefly boasted as having established their case.

In his answer to some queries, it might seem, at first sight, that he had meant to deny a fact so clearly established as the strict and general execution of the Berlin decree, which took place in the ports of Holland in August 1807, and from that period to the date of our orders in council; but he evidently had no such meaning.

"Q. Are you not aware that American ships were seized in the ports of Holland and France after they had reached their harbours, before the orders in council?---A. I am aware that American vessels *loading imports of this kingdom, and going from ports of this kingdom*, have been stopped; but I am not aware that any American ship proceeding *direct* to those ports (*i. e.*, as the context shews, *continental ports*) has been stopped."

Here we see the whole effect and meaning of this gentleman's testimony to the point in question, namely, that the Berlin decree was not enforced *where it had no application.* It was not enforced against the direct trade from America to France, because it did not prohibit that trade. It was enforced against British trade to the continent, because such trade was a violation of the blockade of the British islands, and therefore prohibited. Again:

"Q. Was there any interruption of the trade between the continent and this country before the orders in council? A. *Yes;* ever since the 21st of November, 1806, a partial interruption; but we never felt any difficulty *in getting our letters backwards and forwards by indirect courses.*"

Surely our correspondent, if he will advert to this and other passages of Mr. Glennie's evidence, will abandon his attempt to apologise for the Edinburgh Reviewers; for can there be a more direct falsification of their statement, "that this trade, up *to the date of the orders in council, was not interrupted at all?*" One of the witnesses even of the petitioners---and their favourite, as he certainly was their most respectable and intelligent witness---not only admitted that interruption, but that, in consequence of it, his own correspondence with the continent could only be carried on by indirect means! We could send letters, but we could not send produce or manufactures; vessels loading here were seized in the continental ports.

Indeed, so far was Mr. Glennie from meaning to depose to that trade which is the subject of assertion in the Edinburgh Review, that he expressly disclaimed all connection with it. "I confine myself" (said he, in explaining his evidence as to the stoppage of Americans); "*I confine myself to that which I conceive to be a legal trade, and which is the only trade our house is concerned in; which is, a direct trade from America to the ports of the continent.*" p. 67.

Such is the testimony by which, as the Edinburgh Review has the boldness to assert, the continuance of *our* trade, of trade *from this country* to the continent of Europe, trade which carried *our manufactures* to the continental markets, was *clearly and indisputably established!!* Such is their case, even on the evidence which they confessedly had before them, and which they undertook to review.

connection with, and knew nothing of that trade*.

No son of sir Francis Baring was examined as a witness at all. But we will suppose that the Reviewers meant to allude to Mr. Alexander Baring's pamphlet, and will pass over the incorrectness of a mode of expression, which must lead every reader, unacquainted with the fact, to suppose that they quoted in him a parliamentary witness, not a party writer. We will suppose that heedlessness, and not disingenuity, led to that equivocal style. Nor will we object to the pamphlet as evidence. It certainly is at least as good authority as the speech of a counsel at the bar. But we call on the Edinburgh Review to point out a passage, even in Mr. Baring's pamphlet, which supports them in the statement in question.

We may, indeed, forget some of the positions in that work, many of which are disputable enough; but should be much surprized indeed to find Mr. Baring affirming in it, "that there was no interruption to the trade in neutral vessels from this country to the continent prior to the orders in council," because this gentleman, though a most zealous opponent of those orders, explicitly admitted the reverse of that proposition to be true, in his place in the house of commons.

It is no doubt a great pity, that the Reviewers, since it appears that they were informed of the intimation of the chancellor of the exchequer of his design to call evidence, were not also informed of the conversation that ensued; because they would have learnt, that at the close of the evidence for the petitioners, Mr. Baring was so far from thinking the above proposition proved, as to declare, that *he thought the notoriety of the stoppage of our commercial intercourse with the continent, prior to our orders in council, might well supersede the necessity of proving it on the other side.*

The establishing clearly and conclusively that important fact, had been stated as the chief object of the examination intended on the part of government; not in order to contradict the evidence of the petitioners, as the Review represents, but to supply what in the arrangement of that evidence had been unfairly omitted. But Mr. Baring objected to such proof as unnecessary, because the fact it was to establish could not be denied. Yet Mr. Baring is now quoted, by the Edinburgh Review, as fully corroborating evidence by which that fact had been clearly disproved!!!

We might safely stop here; but as most of our readers are probably strangers to the parliamentary evidence, it is proper to inform them, that eight eminent underwriters, shipping brokers, and merchants, examined in the house of commons on the part of government, and four merchants afterwards called by members on the other side of the house—merchants who, while our commerce with the continent remained, had been largely engaged in it—all with one voice deposed, that the trade, which the Edinburgh Review asserts to have subsisted without interruption up to the date of our orders in council, *was from a period about two months prior to that date totally interrupted and destroyed.*

They deposed further, that the cause of this total suppression of our commerce, with nearly the whole continent of Europe, was the rigorous execution of that Berlin decree, which the Edinburgh Review asserts had, till the orders in council, never been executed at all.

Though such evidence, uncontradicted as it was, could not be questioned by any sane understanding, yet, to silence all future misrepresentation on that subject (though that end, it seems, has not been accomplished), official returns from the custom-house were laid on the tables of parliament, by which it appeared that the ships which had sailed, or cleared out, from England to France and Holland, in the months of Au-

* See the last note.

gust, September, and October, 1807, *had been obliged to re-enter, and land their cargoes, on account of the impossibility of obtaining admission in the continental ports.*

The Edinburgh Review being thus, to use its own terms, contradicted by "*public documents and notorious facts,*" as well as by the parliamentary evidence, unsupported even by the portion of that evidence which it professed to have examined, we are at a loss to imagine by what means its credit can be defended.

A fallacy, not unprecedented in the controversy respecting the orders in council, can here have no place. It cannot be pretended that the assertions in question were meant to relate to the direct American trade with the continent, in which it is alleged that we have a great though indirect interest; for the Reviewers had clearly in contemplation a trade prohibited by the Berlin decree. To argue in proof of the non-execution of that decree, would otherwise have been impertinent and absurd; and besides, the very terms of the propositions are "*voyages from this country,*" and "vessels *publicly chartered from this country* to the continent."

We cannot believe that any one will attempt to interpret these words as meaning "voyages from a neutral country directly to France, or other hostile countries, without touching in England;" and if he should, the context would be decisive against him. The second proposition, and the spirit of the whole argument, oblige us to understand a trade in which British manufactures and British colonial produce passed from England to the continent.

The Reviewers, therefore, are, in their first proposition at least, convicted of what we again pronounce to be gross and palpable mistatement; and if this part of our censure be just, the rest is of little importance; for the non-execution of the Berlin decree against our commerce with the continent, is the general point in dispute; and to establish this, the principal fact alleged is, that this commerce suffered no interruption. The prices for our manufactures and produce in the continental markets, the rates of insurance, and the postages paid by gentlemen engaged in the trade in question, are adduced only as evidence of the main and substantive allegation, that the trade was not in fact interrupted till the date of our orders in council.

To defend the subsidiary statements while the principal is abandoned as false, would be like defending a coiner admitted to have stamped the counterfeit piece, by denying that he had added to it the milling or wash.

But the case of the Edinburgh Reviewers will not fairly admit of even this scanty defence.

We pass over, as we did in our former strictures, the evidence of the second proposition, because it is quite immaterial if true. The low price of our produce and manufactures on the continent was no proof that the risk of their carriage had not been increased; for competitors unaffected by the Berlin decree overstocked the foreign markets; and we need scarcely observe, that in such cases the cheapest seller gives the law to the rest. It was a heavy complaint of our West-Indian planters, that the price of their produce was declining, while the expense of its carriage increased; and that, long before its exclusion from those markets, it was sold at a loss.

The third proposition was not noticed in our former strictures, but is as untrue as the first.

Mr. Glennie is the respectable witness whose person is here pluralized, for no other witness spoke to the amount of his postages.

That gentleman certainly stated them to have amounted in one year to 455*l.* in another to 515*l.* and in a third to 640*l*; and it surprizes us that the Reviewers should be so abstemious as not to state this higher than 700*l.* a year. But the descrip-

tion of "*gentlemen concerned in* THIS *trade,*" is untrue when applied to Mr. Glennie, as we have already shewn by an extract from that gentleman's evidence: "*the only trade,*" said he, "*our house is concerned in, is a direct trade from America to ports in the continent.*"

This, we beg our readers to observe, is an extract from that very portion of the evidence which is admitted to have been before the Reviewers when they wrote. What, then, are we to think of a misrepresentation so gross, in the only point that gave the postages of Mr. Glennie an apparent relevancy to their purpose? It is obvious that the extent of the correspondence of a house which was wholly unengaged in *our* trade with the continent, was quite foreign to the question whether that trade was interrupted by the Berlin decree; whereas if a single house paid for postages, *in that very trade,* as the proposition plainly asserts, 700*l.* a year, to be sure it would afford full proof that the trade then existed in a flourishing state. This, therefore, is falsehood, not only in a point material, but in that which constitutes the whole materiality of the evidence.

The concluding clause of this proposition has a measured disingenuity, that must exclude, with every discerning mind, the notion of inadvertency or mistake.

After Mr. Glennie's supposed connexion, or rather that of "the gentlemen" into whom he is multiplied, with the continental trade of this country, has been invented and swelled to the widest dimensions, it is added, "that they never heard of a single instance of a neutral vessel condemned in the hostile ports for being engaged in it." The fact is, that Mr. Glennie expressly limited this negative assertion to what he called "a legal trade," which he afterwards explained to be "a trade direct from America to the ports of the continent;" that is, as we understand him, a trade legal under the French decrees. (See p. 67 of the printed evidence, and compare it with page 65, &c.). He included, at most, vessels which had only called at an English port in their way from America, without taking on board any of our manufactures or produce.

It appeared abundantly, however, from this gentleman's testimony, and from letters which he had received from France and Holland, that, to the extent of *seizure and detention* at least, the Berlin decree had been enforced, in those countries, upon many American vessels, prior to the orders in council; and that he had not heard of any of them being released, at least not till after that period (p. 68, 69, &c.). In fact, it appeared from the examination, in general, that though British goods had been rigidly condemned when discovered, the policy of the enemy was to keep the American ships and cargoes under sequestration, as a mean, no doubt, of working on the hopes and fears of the United States more effectually.

All this, however, is suppressed by the Edinburgh Review. To disclose that so many seizures had taken place, would, to be sure, not have well comported with the statement that there was no interruption of the trade, and that the Berlin decree was wholly unexecuted: but to garble Mr. Glennie's evidence, to reject all he had said as to seizures and retain what he had said as to condemnations, was convenient enough. Ordinary readers would apprehend (and can any man who reads the whole passage doubt that it was meant they should apprehend?) that the most eminent continental merchants had heard no instance of proceedings under the Berlin decree.

It remains only that we should notice the fourth proposition, the only one which our correspondent has endeavoured to defend.

His distinction between insurance on the *ship* and insurance on the *voyage,* is in terms certainly not very intelligible; but our correspondent could not choose his terms, or he

would, we doubt not, have chosen such as were much better adapted to his meaning. He was bound to defend the terms used by the Edinburgh Review, so as to shew that they were capable of some construction consistent with the truth of the case; and he was bound also to shew a probability, or a *possibility* at least, that the Reviewers meant to be understood in that justifiable sense which he might be able to find for them.

But he has, as we submit to our readers, failed in the one, while he has not even attempted the other.

Our correspondent's distinction between the terms "insurance on the voyage" and "insurance on the ship" is explained by his argument; but the whole drift of the argument of the Reviewers, and every part of their reasoning, exclude the possibility that they had any such distinction in view.

He means by "insurance on the ship," an insurance *covering the risk of seizure in port for a violation of the Berlin decree;* and by "insurance on the voyage," an insurance in which the underwriters did not warrant against that risk.

It is true, as he alleges, that much of the peril imposed upon our trade with the continent, by the execution of the Berlin decree, arose from the danger of seizure in port, where the enemy had much more power of giving effect to his iniquitous decrees than on the ocean; and, therefore, before his rigid execution of them had put a full stop to our trade, a clause was added to the policies, warranting the assured against seizures in port "*till the goods were warehoused.*"

Now, to be sure, a more unnatural term, to represent this extended insurance, than that of insurance *on the ship*, could hardly be imagined. Insurance *on the cargo*, would have been less so; for it was in order to protect this against the discovery of its British origin when landed, that the new clause was chiefly devised; and it protected the cargo after the risk on the ship was ended. We doubt even if the clause ever was introduced into the insurance of a *ship*, except when the *cargo* was insured in the same policy. Nor is the opposition to insurance "*on the voyage*" less strained or unnatural; for the risks of the voyage, or passage by sea, were always insured against at the same time, and in the same policy, with that of the seizure in port; the latter was grafted on the former: and in another sense "the voyage" was the very cause of the risk in port; its prohibited nature induced the seizure.

But it is really wasting the time of our readers to prove from the extreme inaptitude of the terms themselves to the meaning given them by our correspondent, that the Reviewers had no such meaning, when it is obvious that this meaning is utterly inconsistent with the propositions which they were affirming.

How could they have in view a distinction turning on a new mode of insurance occasioned by seizures under the Berlin decree, while asserting, and labouring to prove, that the Berlin decree had not been executed at all?

But could our readers, after reading the passage itself, possibly feel a doubt on this point; where, we might demand, would be the exculpation of the Reviewers, even admitting the meaning contended for, against this part of our charge?

The subsidiary falsehood, as to the rates of insurance, would still be as manifest and undeniable as we have shewn the primary one to have been.

For what is their assertion? That the rate of insurance on such voyages did not experience the least advance, *but remained precisely at the point at which it had formerly stood.* And what is our correspondent's statement in respect of the "voyages," admitting his own construction of the term? "That the rise of insurance on the voyages" (*i. e.* without covering the risk of seizure in port) "was *very small.*"

We know not on what principle a "*very small*" injury to British commerce, at the expense of the laws of nations, is a wrong to which we are bound to submit, or our resistance to which amounts to "injustice and oppression;" nor do we know what, in our correspondent's judgment, would constitute "a very large" incumbrance on British commerce, as an advance on the rates of insurance. But certain we are, that the parliamentary evidence, to which, be it remembered, the Reviewers refer as clearly maintaining their statements, gives no colour to the assertion that the advance, even in our present contracted view of the subject, was small or immaterial.

What part of the enormous rise of premiums which took place in September and October 1807, in our export trade to the continent, was the price of the warrant against "seizure in port," does not distinctly appear. It was no doubt much more considerable than the price of the risks at sea comprised in the same premiums. But even the latter risks were so inflamed by the execution of the Berlin decree, that when the underwriters were absolved from the risk of seizure in port, a ship from this country to Holland could not be insured at less than a premium of ten guineas *per cent.* and the cargo could not be done (to use the technical phrase) on any terms *; though, as further appears from the same evidence, they might have been insured free from capture and seizure, *i. e.* at sea or in port, at a guinea and a half *per cent.* judging from the rate of premiums at the same season in the former year †.

It will not be thought strange that the risk of capture at sea alone should materially affect the premiums on voyages prohibited by the Berlin decree, to and from the hostile coasts, when it is known that even in the trade between England and America the effect of that decree was to raise the premiums of insurance fifty per cent.*. The enemy's ships of war and privateers are of course more active on the coasts of France, Germany, and Holland, than in the Atlantic, or on the coast of Ame-

in the spring of 1807 the premiums advanced to ten guineas *per cent.* At the same time they were done, *free from capture and seizure*, at a guinea and a half *per cent.* at which I underwrote some.---*Evidence of Mr. Shedden*, p. 134.

N. B. The same witness states the premiums from August to November, *prior to the orders in council*, to have been as high as 20, 25, and 30 guineas per cent.; and he expressly ascribes the whole advance to the Berlin decree.

* Q. Do you know what were the average rates of insurance in 1806 and in 1807, respectively, on voyages in American vessels from England to America, and from America to England? A. Yes.---Q. Can you state whether insurances on those voyages in 1807, were at a higher premium on the average than in 1806? A. Very considerably higher: in the year 1806 they were at two and a half per cent. on the average; in 1807 about three and three quarters on the average, taking the year through.---Q. To what do you ascribe the advance in 1807 beyond that of 1806, in the voyages of which you have last spoken? A. Certainly to the Berlin decree, in consequence of which several ships were taken pursuing their voyages from this country to America, and several from America to this country: I think not less than twenty-one altogether.

Q. Do not the great shipments to America from England commonly end by the close of the month of September? A. Generally.---Q. Then if the comparison of premiums be taken on outward voyages from the beginning of the year to the end of September, what proportion do the premiums of 1807 bear to those of 1806? A. They are full fifty per cent. in advance.

Evidence of Mr. Dewar, p. 129.

* Evidence of Mr. Dewar, p. 130, 131.

† Q. Was there any, and what, advance in the premiums on those voyages (voyages from England to the continent of Europe) immediately after notice arrived in this country of the Berlin decree? A. There was an advance of premiums. In 1806, from London to Holland and Hamburgh and the adjacent ports there was from 25s. to 40s. *per cent.* for all risks; and

rica; and let it be considered, that the flag, in all cases in which this decree has any effect, being neutral, the smallest cruizer must not be resisted, nor the slowest avoided, on peril of a legitimate condemnation in case of capture.

We cite these rates of insurance in our direct trade with America, for illustration only of that which is the immediate subject of remark, the insurance on our trade to the continent of Europe: and yet we cannot help observing, by the way, how completely, we might say how shockingly, the Edinburgh Review is falsified in its bold accusations of its country, by the evidence last referred to, that of the underwriters. Mr. Dewar deposed, that forty-three neutral vessels, on a good many of which he was himself an underwriter, were seized in Holland for breaches of the Berlin decree, on or about the nineteenth of August; and that he had actually paid for many losses on such seizures. (p. 131.) Mr. Shedden and Mr. Hadley deposed to the same effect. (p. 139, 140, 141, &c.) Yet the Reviewers have not hesitated to assert, that the Berlin decree *was not executed at all till after the 11th of November.*

Nor will that indulgent hypothesis of our correspondent, that they knew only the evidence of the petitioners when they wrote, avail them here, any more than in their former statements; for the evidence of the petitioners, as far as it relates to the subject of insurance, instead of supporting, actually contradicts their assertions.

No underwriter, indeed, was called on that side. They examined, however, one policy broker; a gentleman who, as appears by his evidence, had been largely employed by the American merchants, and who *fortunately* knew nothing of the rates of insurance in our trade with the continent*.

The passages we cite from his testimony, coupled with the want of all other evidence on that side as to insurance in the trade in question, might fully serve for the condemnation of the Reviewers.

But the testimony of this witness positively, as well as negatively, refutes them. He admitted that the Berlin decree had produced a rise in premiums of insurance, even in the direct trade between America and the continent. All, indeed, that the petitioners attempted to prove by him was, that the effect in that branch of trade was not permanent till after our orders in council*.

Unless therefore the Berlin decree can be supposed to have produced a stronger effect on voyages that were not, than those which were, within its prohibitions, it was inconsistent even with the evidence of the petitioners to assert, that the rate of insurance on the voyages in question "*did not experience the least advance* in consequence of that decree." The evidence which is alleged, "clearly and indisputably" to prove this, sufficiently proves the contrary.

* He was examined by the petitioners, to prove that the insurances on American vessels trading to the continent had not risen; but on his cross examination it appeared that he could speak only to such part of that trade as was not within the restrictions of the Berlin decree; and that his evidence, therefore, had no relevancy whatever to the question.

"2. Do I understand the insurances which you speak of taking place in 1806 and 1807, were insurances of vessels *going direct from America to the continent*? *A.* The insurances I *have been speaking of have been insurances from America direct to the continent.*—2. When you gave your evidence when under examination by the learned counsel, you spoke of vessels *going immediately from America to the continent. A.* Yes, *I did. Those were the vessels I insured.*"—*Evidence of Mr. Hinckley.* p. 74.

* He gave a detail of premiums on different voyages of that description, and the counsel then put this question:

"2. You therefore understand that the effect of the Berlin decree in raising insurances was not permanent? *A.* I recollect that when the *decree was first known it produced a rise of premiums*, &c." p. 73.

We have shewn, then, that the defence offered by our correspondent entirely fails to repel even that single article of the charge to which alone it applies. The distinction he attempts to set up was not in the contemplation of the Reviewers. *His* sense of the term "such voyages" is clearly not theirs. But if it were, even in that sense their proposition is untrue,—and not untrue only, as our correspondent supposes, in a small degree, but by all the difference between no advance at all, and an advance of from fifty to at least one hundred, probably above two hundred, per cent. Lastly, they are here, as in all the other points, at direct variance with the evidence which they professed to have seen and to quote from.

After such a reply to the defence, in point of fact and evidence, we might well decline to examine the argument for its intrinsic probability which our correspondent derives from the alleged importance of his distinction. But there is one of his remarks on that subject which we cannot, in duty to our country, leave unnoticed.

We cannot admit that the capture or seizure of neutral vessels *in port*, for any cause other than an offence against the municipal law of the place, is more consistent with the law of nations than the same capture would have been *at sea*. We never heard, and do not believe, that any supporters of the orders in council ever assented to any such doctrine. We know, indeed, that Bonaparte does hold, that seizures in the ports of the continent are perfectly consistent with the law of nations in all cases, and that seizures at sea are in all cases perfectly contrary to that law; and we doubt not he will continue so to hold, as long as Great Britain is mistress at sea, and he is master on shore. We believe, also, that the spirit of party has so far triumphed over patriotic feeling and common sense, as to produce some advocates for that doctrine in England: but those who have regarded the Berlin decree as a violent outrage on the most sacred and long-established principles, and therefore have defended our retaliatory system, have not been so inconsistent as to allow that the execution of this wrongful decree would become rightful by adding a breach of hospitality to an infraction of the law of nations.

France, no doubt, has a right to declare and to enforce her own municipal law; but the Berlin decree is not municipal legislation. It is, and it professes to be, a measure of belligerent policy, an ordinance not for France only, but for the ocean and the civilized world; and it is to be enforced by capture of vessels which are not found in, perhaps even have never entered, the ports of that country.

Besides, France is not the only country in whose ports the decree enjoined the execution of its rules. The Hanse Towns, and other maritime places, in which she then pretended no authority but that of force or terror, were commanded to recognise and give effect to the blockade of the British islands. Independent nations in amity with us were required to adopt the same system; and the throne of Portugal was subverted because her sovereign hesitated to comply.

It would then, in every view, be a mockery to call this decree a measure of interior or municipal legislation; and if it be not such in its nature, the execution of it is equally repugnant to the law of nations, whether neutral ships, condemned for having broken the blockade of England, were captured off the Isle of Wight or seized in the port of Havre.

There has, we are aware, been much false logic, as well as false principle, employed on this interesting subject. In no public cause were the laws of right reasoning ever more palpably violated. We know that it has been common to confound the question of *principle* with the question of *fact;* to assert first boldly, like the Edinburgh Reviewers, that our trade with the continent continued to flourish unin-

terrupted up to the date of our orders in council, without prejudice from the Berlin decree; and when the contrary is manifestly proved, when the trade is shewn, as we have shewn it, to have been totally ruined and suppressed by that decree prior to the date of those orders, to escape by alleging that the execution of the Berlin decree by seizures in port was not repugnant to the law of nations. In any other cause, what would this be called but mere evasion?

Our correspondent, we are sure, has no such sophistry in view. He must feel, that in arguing to defend the veracity of the Edinburgh Reviewers as to the non-interruption of our trade in point of fact, the legality or illegality of that trade is not an argument *ad idem*, but quite beside his purpose. He adduced that topic, no doubt, merely to shew that the distinction between seizure in port and seizure on the voyage, under this decree, had by some been held very material, and hence to infer the probability that the Reviewers had his own distinction in contemplation when they used the term "such voyages." But the contrary of this has been proved so abundantly, and is indeed so manifest from a perusal of the passage in question, that we have only to apologise to our readers for having dwelt so long on the subject.

We are not disposed to retract that part of our censure to which our correspondent most objects. We cannot entertain a doubt that the misrepresentation was wilful; and are persuaded that few, if any, of our readers, who consider the facts, will have any difficulty to adopt our conclusion. Indeed, our correspondent himself must be a convert to it, now that we have shewn the total falsehood of the statement in question even on the evidence of the petitioners, as well as the utter contempt of truth and notoriety in the main proposition, which he does not attempt to defend.

After all, we cannot feel the consequence, in a moral view, of that measure of exculpation which he attempts for them; and as moral questions are always of importance, must add a word or two on that subject. He admits that they must have had notice of the falsehood of their statements before their publication, though not perhaps before they were composed; and this he thinks reduces the blame "*to a want of a sufficient degree of zeal to detect errors*," which he further admits "it would have been *honourable* to do."

What! when the mistatement amounted to an impeachment of the justice and honour of their country, and of the veracity of its executive government in a solemn act of state promulged in his majesty's name! When the Reviewers themselves had presumed to deduce such an impeachment from their own false premises, in the most direct and insolent terms! Is this a case in which the correction of the mistatement was but a kind of *half-duty*, which it would have been "honourable" to perform, but venial to neglect?

We entreat our correspondent to read the review again, and to observe how that solemn act of state, that appeal by his majesty to Europe and the civilized world against the injustice of the enemy, and in defence of his own remedial measures, the leading order in council, is treated in it. The preamble, we are told, "*is erroneous and fallacious* in all its points," that this is "*clearly and indisputably made out*," that the proclamations (the orders in council) are "*most injurious*," and that we are chargeable with the *whole of the injustice and oppression which we have been accustomed to charge against the enemy*."

Such are the loyal and decent inferences drawn by the Edinburgh Review from its own false and unwarrantable premises. Surely, then, our correspondent does not seriously mean that it was no duty, or a duty of no high obligation, to retract those premises, and to suppress the libellous conclusions from them, when the truth was fully known.

For our parts, if we entertained a doubt of the wilfulness of the original act, on account of any favourable presumptions, due in other cases in point of charity or candour, we should be obliged to dismiss it here, from the reflection that the publication, or even the non-retractation, of such a libel, when found to be false, is conduct not less censurable than its original and wilful invention; and that those who are capable of the one, would not have been incapable of the other. It would be enough for us that the Twenty-fourth Number of the Edinburgh Review has appeared, while the differences with America are yet unterminated, while the orders in council are yet in force, and the faith and honour of the country in the eyes of foreign powers if possible more important than ever; and yet these false and indecent accusations remain wholly unretracted.

We lament the necessity of such strictures on our fellow-labourers in the critical department of science. We wish they would avoid giving occasion for them, by recollecting their proper business as reviewers, and not prostituting their pages, as they have lately most openly done, to the purposes of a political party. More especially we wish that they would avoid misrepresentations of a dangerous nature, tending to inspire discontent among our manufacturers, as well as to irritate the neutral powers. We advise them to keep within the precincts of that commonwealth, of which they have lately said that "its shades resound with '*no cries of factions*' or public animosities, and that *falsehood is the only enemy their inhabitants ever pursue**."

But if they are resolved to gratify their political friends by an opposite conduct, it will be our duty, as Reviewers of Reviews, to point out, in cases like the present, the trespasses which their party zeal may lead them to commit against the interest and honour, not of an opposite party only, but of the nation at large.

Still more will it become us to vindicate the respect due to truth, and to prevent, as far as our feeble power extends, the practices of Napoleon from infecting the British press by the aid of a literary Review. For the honour of science, for the benefit of history, for the sacred interests of morality, and the common welfare of mankind, such bold misrepresentations as are the subject of these remarks must be censured and exposed.

* Number XXIV. p. 400.

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE,

&c. &c.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In the press: The History of India during the Administration of the Marquis Wellesley, in two thick volumes 4to., by L. Dundas Campbell, Esq.;—A System of Mineralogy and mineralogical Chemistry, in 3 vols. 8vo., by Mr. Accum;—A new Edition of Newcome's Version of the Minor Prophets, by Mr. B. Boothroyd; and A new Edition of Cruttwell's Gazetteer, in 4 vols. 8vo.

Preparing for the press: Essays on some Branches of Agriculture, by Mr. J. Saunders (to be published by subscription);—The four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, with Notes critical, explanatory, and practical, and Reflections, by the Rev T. Stabback, Lecturer of Helstone;—(by subscription) The Works of the late Rev. J. Newton, in 6 vols. 8vo.;—and A Translation of Pliny's Natural History, the Encyclopedia of Antiquity, by Dr. Forbes of Edinburgh, with Notes and Illustrations, and a Life of the Author.

A society has lately been formed in London, called the Society of Friends of Foreigners in distress. The subscription of an

annual guinea constitutes a governor, and of ten guineas a governor for life. The object of the society is to grant relief to all foreigners in distress or want, of whatever nation or religion, who shall appear, on minute inquiry, to be entitled to it. It appears to have received, and it certainly deserves, the most respectable patronage; and we trust will meet with the necessary pecuniary encouragement.

A paper has appeared in the Philosophical Transactions of the present year, by Mr. Murdoch, giving an account of the application of coal gas to economical purposes, an abstract of which may not be uninteresting.

The whole of the cotton mill of Messrs. Phillips and Lee, of Manchester, one of the most extensive in England, as well as its counting-houses and store-rooms, and the adjacent dwelling-house of Mr. Lee, are now lighted with gas from coal. The total quantity of light used during the hours of burning is equal to the light which 2500 mould candles, of six to the pound, would give; each of the candles consuming 4-10ths of an ounce of tallow per hour. In all the buildings are, 271 burners on the principle of Argand's lamps, and 633 of another species formed by a small curved tube with a conical end, having three circular apertures of about a thirtieth of an inch in diameter, through which the gas issues, forming three divergent jets of flame. Each of the Argand burners gives a light equal to that of four candles of the size mentioned, and each of the common burners a light equal to that of two and a quarter of the same candles. For this the 904 burners require an hourly supply of 1250 cubic feet of gas, produced from cannel coal, which, though dearer, is preferred, on account of the superior quality and quantity of the gas it produces.

The annual consumption of cannel coal is 110 tons, and its cost 125*l.* and of common coal 40 tons, and its cost 20*l.* The 110 tons of cannel coal after distillation produce 70 tons of coak, sold on the spot for 93*l.* and 1250 gallons of tar. But the tar not having been sold, its value is not stated.

The annual expense for lighting the mill is as follows.

Coal . . . . . *L.*	145
Interest of capital laid out in buildings, &c. and wear and tear . . .	550
	695
Deduct value of 70 tons of coak . .	93
Leaving, exclusive of the tar	602

The expense of candles to give the same light for the same time—viz. for 730 hours, or two hours a day—would be about 2000*l.* at one shilling per pound.

If the comparison was made on an average of three hours per day, the advantage would be still more in favour of the gas lights; for their cost, including the additional coal requisite for that time, would not be more than 650*l.*, whilst that of tallow rated as before will be 3000*l.*

At first putting up the apparatus some inconvenience was experienced from the smell, but since its completion, and since the persons, who take care of it, have become familiar with its management, this inconvenience has been obviated, not only in the mill, but in Mr. Lee's house, which is brilliantly illuminated with it, to the exclusion of every other species of artificial light.

The peculiar softness and clearness of the gas light, with its almost unvarying intensity, have brought it into great favour with the work people. And its being free from inconvenience and danger, resulting from the sparks and the frequent snuffings of candles, is a circumstance of material importance, as tending to diminish the hazard of fire, to which cotton mills are known to be much exposed.

The coal is distilled in large iron retorts, and the gas as it rises from them is conveyed by iron pipes into large reservoirs, where it is purified, previous to its being distributed through other pipes, called mains, to the mill. These mains branch off into a variety of directions, and diminish in size as the gas to be passed through them becomes less. The burners are connected with the mains by short pipes, each of which is furnished with a cock to regulate the admission of the gas, or shut it off entirely, when requisite; every main has likewise a cock near its entrance into each room, by turning which the whole of the lights in the room may be extinguished at once.

At Messrs. Boulton and Watt's factory at Soho, Mr. Murdoch has erected an apparatus which gives light to all the principal shops, to the exclusion of other artificial lights.

The advantages arising from the use of gas are: 1. its cheapness. 2. its rendering us independent of foreign powers. Coal is an article of home production; whereas tallow and oil are articles of import, procured with hazard, and at great expense, from distant parts of the world. And 3. the destruction of as great a portion as possible of that cloud of smoke, which, where coal is burnt, pollutes the atmosphere.

An institution has lately been formed at

Edinburgh, entitled the Annuity Fund, for the benefit of governesses. It proposes, by certain rates of subscription from females employed in the education of youth, to raise a fund, from which an annuity proportioned to the subscription of the parties is to be paid to the subscribers, after they have attained the age of fifty-five, from which period their subscriptions are to cease.

Mr. R. Buchanan, of Glasgow, states the following instances in which heat supplied by steam has been used to advantage. Mr. R. Gillespie finds its effect very excellent in copper-plate callico-printing, and for heating calenders at his works. For this last purpose, and to warm his ware-house and counting-house, the steam is conveyed to a distance of above ninety-three yards. Mr. Lounds, at Paisley, has for a considerable time used the heat of steam with great success in drying fine muslins, and Messrs. Ley, Mason, and Co. use it now also at their bleaching works, at Aberdeen. Messrs. Muir, Brown, and Co. of Glasgow, have found the heat of steam to answer much better at their dying and bleaching works, than the usual mode by stoves. Mr. Buchanan concludes with recommending steam for warming the bed-rooms of large inns and hotels, large warehouses and shops, churches, hospitals, and other large public buildings.

The Autumnal course of lectures at St. Bartholomew's hospital will commence on the 1st of October, and those at St. Thomas's and Guy's hospitals about the same time.

Mr. Accum's lectures on experimental chemistry and analytical mineralogy will commence, in Compton Street, Soho, October the 18th; Dr. Clarke's and Mr. Clarke's on midwifery and the diseases of women and children, at No. 10, Upper John's Street, Golden Square, October the 3d; and Mr. Thomas's on the principles and operations of surgery, at the Theatre of Anatomy, in Windmill Street, early in October.

The Rev. John Doncaster, A. M., fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and one of his majesty's preachers at Whitehall, is elected head master of Oakham School, Rutland.

FRANCE.

In the report of the French Institute for 1807 mention is made of a new improvement in the reflecting telescope, which consists in placing the small plane mirror in the middle of the telescope perpendicularly on its axis, and not obliquely, which diminishes by one half the length of the reflector, and permits the observer to place himself in front of the object he is desirous of examining.

A report of the minister of the interior has lately appeared in the French journals, recommending the use of the wood of the Chesnut tree in fevers, instead of Peruvian Bark; as "the high price and extreme scarcity of that precious drug will forbid the use of it," except in cases of the greatest urgency.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THEOLOGY.

Theological Thoughts on God, the Creation, Fall and Redemption of Man, and on God's Dealings with Man, from the Creation to the Final Consummation of all Things, by Dr. W. Smith, late Chief Justice of Cape Breton. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Attempt to prove the Truth of Christianity, in a series of Discourses preached before the University of Oxford, in 1808, at the Lecture founded by the late John Bampton, M. A. by J. Penrose, M. A. 9s.

Jerusalem; or An Answer to the following Queries:—What is the Etymology of the Word Jerusalem?—And is there any Connection between Salem and Jerusalem. By G. Sharp. 2s.

Two Sermons on Religious Establishments, by R. Dickenson, M. A. 2s.

A Dissertation upon the Logos of St. John, by R. Lawrence, LL. D. 3s.

Illustrations of the Four Gospels, founded on Circumstances peculiar to our Lord and the Evangelists. 8vo. 15s.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, at the Visitation in May and June, 1808, by G. Owen, A. M. Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Prebendary of Ely. 1s. 6d.

Select Sermons, by the Rev. A. Cleeve, A. B. late Vicar of Woolerton, Northumberland. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Communications to the Board of Agriculture, on Subjects relative to the Husbandry and internal Improvement of the Country, Vol. VI. Part IV. 4to. 15s.

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures, belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, in the Gallery of Cleveland House, London, by J. Britton, F. S. A. 8vo. 7s. large paper 10s.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney, by T. Zouch, D. D. Prebendary of Durham. 4to. 1*l.* 5s.

The life of David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians, with an Abridgment of his Diary and Journal, by J. Styles. 4s.

Life of General Washington, by Aaron Bancroft. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs of the Life and Happy Death of Wilberforce Smith. 1s.

A Biographical Peerage of the Empire of Great Britain; in which are Memoirs and Characters of the most celebrated Persons of each Family. Vol. 1. and 2, containing the Peerage of England. 16s.

A Familiar Introduction to the Study of Geography and the Use of the Globes, by J. Bidlake. 2s.

The Chronicles of Holinshed, comprising the Description and History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with a general Index to the whole. 6 vols. 4to. 12*l.* 12s.

The Ladies' History of England, written expressly for the Use of Young Ladies who are finishing their Education, and divested of those Indelicacies which disfigure many other Histories of England; treating particularly of the Progress of Manners and National Improvements. In a Series of Letters to a Young Lady at School, by Charlotte Smith. 3 vols. 15s.

An Exposition of the Practice of Affusing Cold Water on the Surface of the Body, as a Remedy for the Cure of Fever; to which are added, Remarks on the Effects of Cold Drink, and of Gestation in the Open Air, in certain Conditions of that Disease, by R. Jackson, M. D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Hints, respecting the Education of the Poor, by a Clergyman. 1s.

Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. 4to. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

A large Sheet Table of all the Stamp Duties on Deeds, Law Proceedings, Bills of Exchange, Receipts, Probates of Wills, Legacies, &c.

A concise View of the Constitution of England, by G. Custance. Dedicated, by Permission, to W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. 6s.

Defense du Clergé François, resident à Londres et dans le reste de l'Angleterre, contre l'Inculpation de Mgr. Jean Milner, Evêque de Castabala, dans son Mandement du 1 Juin, 1808. Par. l'Abbé Blanchard. 2s.

The Wonders of the Horse, recorded in Anecdotes, and interspersed with Poetry. Selected by J. Taylor. 2s. 6d.

Lectures on Natural History, as delivered at the Leverian Museum, and at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, by G. Shaw, M. D. F. R. S.

The Pastoral Care, a didactic Poem. 12mo. 12s.

Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse, and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradise Lost, by the late W. Cowper, Esq. 4to. 2*l.* 2s.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

EDINBURGH SOCIETY'S MISSION TO TARTARY.

The communication with Karass has been greatly interrupted in consequence of the war with Russia. The last accounts from the missionaries are dated the 24th of January last. They state that, as to the conversion of the natives, little has yet been done, but that they have many encouragements to persevere with patience and hope. "Besides the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is now nearly finished, three or four tracts have lately been printed, and opportunities of distributing them frequently occur. There are now seventeen ransomed natives, young and old, living with us. The young, in general, are learning tolerably well. Those that have been baptized conduct themselves with propriety; though some of them do not discover all that desire to make progress in spiritual knowledge which could be wished."

"In a conversation with Shellivy, he told us, that he read the New Testament almost constantly. It appeared by his dreams, that he was extremely thoughtful. One night, he imagined, that five persons appeared to him clothed in light, and inexpressibly glorious; one of whom he conceived to be greatly superior to the rest. Addressing himself to the other four, and asking them if they were angels, they answered that they were the apostles of Jesus, and pointing to the fifth said, "This is our Master." I then read to him part of the Catechism which we were printing; and when I came to the questions respecting the divinity and atonement of Christ, he observed, that these were the points on which we differed, but that they seemed reasonable in

one sense. He then begged me to send him the Catechism as soon as it was finished."

"Kategary (the converted sultan) returned from Doulet Gerry's village, where he had been talking for some hours with the people on religious subjects. Among other things, he told them, that, according to their own confession, they were sinners: that some way of being delivered from the consequences of their sins was desired by all: that the best of them were very bad: that it was impossible for them to form a just estimate of the quantity of virtue requisite for their salvation, according to the law of the Koran; that although this law was bad in itself, yet their conduct was worse; therefore they could not be saved by it: that if we considered a religious law in the light of a covenant, to break any part of it was to render the whole useless: that Mohammed's own conduct was exceedingly immoral, consequently neither his law nor his intercession could be of any avail to them: that all men acknowledged the necessity of a mediator: that no mediator but Jesus Christ had qualifications requisite for completing their salvation; and that the character of Jesus was to be learned from the New Testament, the truth and divine authority of which, no Mohammedan doctors would venture to deny." He then enforced his discourse by a view of the future consequences of continuing in sin.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

This society has lately received a contribution to its funds from several congregations in the connection of the late Rev. John Wesley, amounting to nearly 1300*l*. It appears from the annual reports of this society, that the plan of contributing to its support by local and congregational collections originated in Wales; was afterwards adopted on a large scale in Scotland; and has since been acted upon in various parts of England, particularly in Birmingham, where the several denominations of Christians united their exertions, and raised on its behalf a considerable sum.

It is gratifying to see the different descriptions of Christians thus co-operating in one grand scheme for disseminating to the very ends of the earth those Scriptures, which, they profess in common, can alone make them wise unto salvation.

NORTH AMERICA.

Presbyterian Church.

The general assembly of the Presbyterian church met at Philadelphia the 25th of May, 1808. The following is the substance of the assembly's report on the state of religion within its bounds.

The general assembly acknowledge with gratitude the distinguished kindness of God during the year past. From every quarter, with but few exceptions, they have heard of harmony among the ministers, order among the congregations, an increased attention to the ordinances of the Gospel, and the increasing triumphs of that grace, by which alone sinners can be reconciled to God. They observe that the work, though powerful, has proceeded with great silence and solemnity, and has been free from all appearance of extravagance. The revivals have been preceded in every instance by a union of prayer among Christians, to which they have felt constrained by the fervent desire of their hearts that Christ might be glorified, and by deep and solemn impressions of the value of immortal souls. Christian parents, more especially, have been led to plead earnestly with God in behalf of their children. God is still, as in past ages, the hearer of prayer. He has from his high and holy place granted the requests of his people. The consequence has been, that places of worship have been crowded, and that many meetings for prayer have been established. This, if properly managed, may prove useful; but they caution all under their care, against suffering public duties to interfere with the duties of the family and the closet.

Among the visible fruits of an increased attention to the Gospel, they mention the establishment of benevolent institutions; such as associations for the relief of destitute widows and orphans, for the instruction of the ignorant in divine knowledge, and for the benefit of the poor generally. And they hope that their brethren, in all their churches, will more fully testify in this particular the power of the grace of God.

In the southern parts, the extraordinary revivals of religion have considerably declined: bodily agitations are gradually disappearing: in one instance, where extravagance and wild enthusiasm had been avowed and defended, in opposition to the advice of the assembly, the

error has been acknowledged and good order restored. Those who have been the subjects of the revival persevere in the ways of godliness, with few exceptions.

In those districts of country, as well as in some others, the want of ministers is severely felt. The assembly regret that so few offer themselves as candidates for the ministry; and they hope that the attention of the churches under their care will be directed to this important subject.

The assembly then proceed to notice and reprove the neglect of family religion and catechetical instruction, the general inattention to religion, and the open profanation of the Sabbath, which prevail in some presbyteries; but on the whole they state the progress of religion to be considerable, and their future prospects encouraging.

Methodist Conference.

The general conference of the methodist church met at Baltimore on the 6th of June last, present 128 members. After transacting a variety of business they elected a bishop to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of the late Mr. Whatcoat, and Mr. M'Kentree was ordained to that office in the presence of a large congregation. Last year the methodist society consisted of 144,590 members. The returns of this year are, 121,687 white, and 30,308 coloured, making a total of 151,995 members; and the increase during that period being 7405. The number of itinerant ministers in the methodist connection in America at present amounts to 542.

Protestant Episcopal Church.

The general convention of the protestant episcopal church of America met at Baltimore in the month of June last, in order to devise the best means of extending religion in the United States. The number of ministers present was between seventy and eighty.

EAST INDIES.

It appears from late accounts, that the inquisition at Goa, formerly so well known for its sanguinary proceedings, still exercises its authority in India, and extends its controul to the extreme boundary of Hindostan. In the province of Goa are contained nearly 3000 priests, occupying upwards of 250 churches and chapels, under an archbishop. This hierarchy, by means of the inquisition, is said to hold in chains the Roman-catholic church in the East, and to be silently adding to its power under the tranquil government of the English. Certainly the state and tendency of its influence ought to be a subject of anxious inquiry at the present moment, when India is threatened by Bonaparte; to whom these priests may be so far deluded by his representations as to look for the restoration of the catholic church to its ancient splendor. We formerly mentioned the manner in which they are accustomed to degrade Christianity by the admixture of pagan rites; a practice which must prove peculiarly adverse to the extension of the pure Gospel in India.

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

During the present month the nation has experienced a more than usual alternation of exultation and despondency. The month had scarcely opened, when accounts arrived of two splendid victories, obtained by the British army under sir Arthur Wellesley—the one on the 17th, the other on the 21st of August—over the French force commanded by Junot, which had advanced to cover Lisbon. The field on both occasions was most gallantly contested; but the immoveable intrepidity with which our troops received the enemy's charge, and the resistless valour with which they returned it, afforded the French another proof, that when they meet us on equal terms their boasted superiority vanishes. The fate of each day appears to have been decided by the bayonet. The loss of the enemy in the first action amounted to 1500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In the second, in which not above 10,000 of our troops were engaged with 14,000 men commanded by Junot in person, the enemy lost 3,500 men, 13 pieces

of cannon, 23 tumbrils of amunition, and a great quantity of military stores of all descriptions. General Thiebault, chief of the staff, was killed; and general Beniere wounded and taken prisoner. The total of our loss, in the first action, was 480 men, killed, wounded, and missing, including twenty-eight officers — (lieutenant-colonel Lake was among the killed);—in the second, 740 men, including forty-three officers, of whom lieutenant-colonel Taylor was the only field-officer killed.

In consequence of these actions one of the French generals arrived in our camp on the 22d (on which day general sir Hew Dalrymple took the command of the army), to treat for terms. This circumstance was announced to the public in the same bulletin which conveyed to the city the intelligence of our victories. A very confident expectation was therefore entertained, that the next arrival would bring an account of the surrender of Junot on conditions consistent with the brilliancy of our achievements, especially as it was known that, subsequently to the battle of the 21st, the force which had effected them had been nearly doubled, by the accession of fresh troops. The news of our success arrived in London on the 2d instant. It was not till the 15th that any further official accounts were received. Late in the evening of that day the Park and Tower guns gave to the metropolis the signal for rejoicing. But when the morning came, and the nature of the intelligence was fully known, the joy that had been excited by the cannons' roar was instantly changed into gloom and dejection. Every countenance shewed signs of the deepest disappointment, and scarcely a tongue moved but to express the feelings of shame or indignation. It was one source of consolation, amid the universal dissatisfaction which prevailed, to observe the lively concern that every individual, from the highest to the lowest, seemed to feel for his country's honour. We can remember a period, not very distant, when we had amongst us numbers who could exult in any instance of disgrace or disaster which befel their country. If we may judge, among other things, from what we have recently witnessed, this disloyal faction is nearly if not altogether extinct; and we have to thank Him "who has the hearts of all men in his hand, and turneth them whithersoever he will," that he has so disposed the course of events, during the last eight or nine years, as to revive and diffuse throughout all ranks of the community that spirit of patriotic attachment for which Britons were formerly distinguished, and which, in times like these, is, under Providence, indispensable to the preservation of all that is dear to us.

In his official letter, sir Hew Dalrymple stated that a convention for the evacuation of Portugal had been signed and ratified on the 30th of August. The preliminary convention appeared in the Gazette only in the French language, and we may therefore conclude was little more than the *projet* which the French general, Kellerman, had brought in his pocket. In the first article, the words, "the armies of his imperial and royal majesty Napoleon I.," are introduced, being a virtual acknowledgement, by the officer at least, who signed the convention, of that title. The remaining articles provided, that the French troops should not in any case be considered as prisoners of war; that all of them should be transported to France, with their artillery and horses, their arms and baggage, and the whole of their private property, from which nothing should be taken; that no individuals, of whatever nation, should be called to account for their past political conduct, but that their property should be protected, and they be at liberty to withdraw with it from Portugal. It was farther agreed, that, as to the Russian fleet, the port of Lisbon should be recognised as neutral; that that fleet, therefore, should not only not be disturbed during its stay, nor stopped when it should wish to sail, but should not even then be pursued till after the time fixed by the maritime laws.

To the stipulations respecting the Russian fleet admiral Cotton refused his assent; and a convention was entered into between him and the Russian admiral, by which it was agreed that the Russian ships, consisting of nine sail of the line and a frigate, should be delivered up, and kept in England as a deposit till six months after the conclusion of a peace between Russia and England; and that the officers and men, amounting to upwards of five thousand, should be sent to Russia in English transports, without any conditions respecting their future services.

The preliminary convention was signed on the 22d of August, by sir Arthur Wellesley and general Kellerman. It was the 30th before the definitive convention was concluded between the same French officer and quarter-master-general Murray. By the terms of this convention, besides confirming and strengthening the stipulations of the former, with the exception of what respected the Russian fleet, it was agreed—that all places in Portugal occupied by the French should be delivered up to the British on the signing

of the convention; that the French troops should be conveyed to some of the ports of France between Rochefort and L'Orient, and should be at liberty to serve again; that they should take with them all their equipments, the military chest, carriages, &c., or dispose of them at pleasure; and should be at liberty also to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security to the purchasers; that any doubts which might arise should be explained favourably to the French; that a year should be allowed to all subjects of France, or of any state in alliance with France, to dispose of any property they might have acquired in Portugal, whether moveable or immoveable, and to pass the produce of it to France or elsewhere; that the Spanish prisoners detained on board ship in Lisbon should be given up, the British commander engaging to procure the liberation of a like number of French subjects, not taken in battle, detained in Spain; that prisoners of all ranks made in Portugal should be exchanged; and that whatever provisions the French should leave behind them in the magazines, should be taken by the British at a valuation.

Certainly a convention more disgraceful to the British name, or more injurious to the British interests, could hardly have been framed. The French, though defeated, are to be conveyed by us to France, there to join, if Bonaparte pleases, the army he is mustering to overwhelm Spain: they are to go with all their booty, which, with unexampled perfidy and rapine, they had wrested from Portugueze, and even from English subjects: they are to be sent back marked with honourable distinctions, instead of being branded with ignominy as robbers and plunderers: and all this, as far as we can judge, without even consulting the Portugueze government, the party chiefly interested. But it would be endless to state all the grounds on which the measure appears to merit censure: for such is its nature, that it will admit of no justification short of an imperious necessity; and that such necessity existed is no where alleged. Certainly nothing else could for a moment excuse the melancholy inattention, which every part of the treaty manifests, to the interests and the feelings of Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, even if it were less injurious to our own interests than it is.---But we forbear any further comment, trusting that those to whom the investigation properly belongs will not fail to perform the duty which they owe to their country and its allies. Portugueze deputies have already arrived to remonstrate with our government against the proceedings of its commanders.

The gloom which the accounts from Portugal occasioned was in some slight degree alleviated by intelligence received from the Baltic, where it appeared that the Russian fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, besides frigates, had been met by the Swedish fleet, which was accompanied by two English seventy-fours under sir Samuel Hood. These two ships considerably outsailed the Swedish fleet, and fearlessly pursued the Russians, hoping to bring them to a general engagement. In this they were disappointed, the Russian ships taking shelter in Port Baltic, where they lay defended by batteries. Before, however, they could secure themselves in this place, one of their seventy-fours was overtaken by one of our men of war, and soon forced to strike. She was afterwards rescued by the bearing down of all the Russian ships, and, being much disabled, was committed to the care of a frigate: falling to leeward, however, she was again attacked, and carried in sight of their whole force; but having taken the ground, it became necessary to set her on fire. The slaughter on board the Russian ship was immense, about 500 men being killed, wounded, or missing. Our loss was nine killed, and about fifty wounded. Our fleet has since been reinforced, by the arrival of sir James Saumarez with some additional ships of the line, and is employed, in conjunction with the Swedes, in blockading the Russian ships, until means are devised for compelling them to surrender.

The arms of Sweden continue to be successful against the Russians in Finland.

Bonaparte has published an exposition of the events which have taken place in Spain, from which may be drawn this inference at least, that the people of that country are unanimous in their opposition to him. He states his forces to have been successful in all their encounters with the patriots, excepting only at the battle of Baylen; and ascribes the disaster which has befallen Dupont to the folly and incapacity of that officer. His brother had retired from Madrid with his army; but merely in order, as it would seem, to seek cooler cantonments and better water. The formidable part of this paper is the threat which it contains against Spain: 200,000 men are to cross the Pyrennees forthwith; and before Christmas there will not be an Englishman in Spain, nor a village which will not acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte.

In the mean while, the French troops

appear to be confined, with the exception of Barcelona, to that small portion of Spain which is north of the Ebro, whither the armies of the patriots were converging from different points of the kingdom. Measures, at the same time, have been taken for forming a central government; and two deputies have been chosen by each of the provinces, who are to meet at some appointed place, in order to make the necessary arrangements for that purpose. The accounts from South America state, that all the Spanish provinces in that quarter, which have heard of what has lately taken place in Europe, have declared in favour of Ferdinand the Seventh. It is supposed that the British army in Portugal will march without delay to the aid of the patriotic armies in the north of Spain.

It evidently appears from Bonaparte's *exposè*, that he apprehends a rupture with Austria. He manifests no small dissatisfaction with that government, on account of the extent of her military preparations; and he has called for a fresh conscription of eighty thousand men, expressly for the purpose of having it in his power to thwart her designs. He states that not only men, but money, will be wanted: he trusts, however, that the warm affection of his people will freely supply all his wants.

Murat has been named king of Naples, in place of Joseph Bonaparte.

A revolution has again taken place at Constantinople. The late grand seignior (Mustapha) has been dethroned and put to death, but not before he had himself caused his predecessor (Selim), who since his deposition two or three years ago had been kept a prisoner in the Seraglio, to be strangled. A nephew of Selim has been raised to the throne. What may be the tendency of this change, in regard to the external relations of Turkey, it is impossible to say. Bonaparte appears to be dissatisfied with it.

A most gallant action was lately fought, in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, by the Seahorse frigate. She was attacked by three large Turkish frigates, carrying each fifty guns and seven hundred men. One was sunk at the first broadside; a second escaped; and the third was taken, after a contest of four hours, in which she had three hundred men killed and two hundred wounded. Our loss was six killed and seven wounded.

During the present month an extraordinary number of convoys of merchantmen have arrived from all parts of the world, without having met with any disaster. An East-India, Jamaica, Leeward Island, and Oporto fleet, arrived early in the month; and about the middle of it, another fleet from the Leeward Islands and Jamaica, together with one from China, Quebec, and Brazil.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

An interesting article of intelligence, respecting Vaccination, has been omitted for want of room.

We are happy to correct a mistake into which we have fallen, in our number for July, respecting the new stamp duty on transfers of real property. We there stated it to amount to nearly a year's income of the property transferred: we now find, however, that the stamp duty will average less than a fourth of that amount.

U. S.; A. D.; Q. P.; B. B. L.; Laicus; Talib; Clericus Bristoliensis; and Chiliarch, have been received.

It is to be feared that there would be difficulties almost unsurmountable in the way of accomplishing the wish of James. Several similar applications have been made without success. We have no objection, however, to receive from him the farther communication which he expresses himself desirous of giving.

The case stated by Q. P. is unquestionably a very deplorable one. We cannot, however, believe that there is, in the subject of it, that singleness, that uprightness of mind, which Q. P. is disposed to attribute to him. Whether this be so or not, all we can say to such an one is: Use diligently and perseveringly the means of grace; "watch and pray;" "ask, and ye shall receive;" but "ask in faith, nothing wavering."

We certainly do not think the practice mentioned by T. L. very proper or safe for young men.